

**Patterns in Space:
A Regional Study of Motif in Minoan Wall Painting**

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Abstract

This thesis consists of a quantitative analysis of the regional prevalence of certain artistic motifs as they appear in Minoan wall painting of the Neopalatial period. This will help to establish the relative degree of artistic autonomy exercised by each of the sites included in this study. The results show that the argument for itinerant artists during this time period is a strong one, but the assumption that these travelling artists were being controlled by any one palace-centre is erroneous. Rather, the similarities and differences seen suggest that the choices were predicated either by the specific patrons, or by the function of the associated building or room. Thus, the motifs found within this study should be understood as constituting a cultural identity, with greater or lesser degrees of regional homogeneity, which act as one facet of a number of cultural indicators that can be used to better understand the role of artists and regional dynamics on the island during the Bronze Age.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and History

For the scholar also has a duty to study what may appear unimportant to the ordinary eye but which in the end proves essential, not only for our knowledge of one sphere of Minoan art, but also for Minoan life in general.

Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 489

Minoan wall painting has fuelled discussion among scholars since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries CE, when Arthur Evans uncovered the first fragmentary piece of painted plaster at the site of Knossos in Central Crete. In the years since this initial discovery, the growing corpus of painted plaster material, excavated from more than twenty different sites across the island, has continued to beguile and defy those who have attempted to understand not only its function (Blakolmer 2000; Hood 1985; 2000; 2005), but also its meaning (Morgan 1985; 2005), its origins, its influences, and its transmission (Immerwahr 1985; 1990, 2-6, 39-40, 105-110; Niemeier and Niemeier 2000; Walberg 1986; Boulotis 2000, 847) .

Each of these aspects has been evaluated and re-evaluated by both prehistoric archaeologists and art historians during the last hundred years of scholarship on the subject, and yet, few unarguable conclusions have been reached. The study of painted plaster on Crete is a complicated one for a number of reasons. First among them is the

fragmentary preservation of the material itself. It is estimated that only five to ten percent of the original body of painted plaster from Crete survives today. Additionally, most of this five to ten percent comes from unstratified dumps outside the excavated buildings themselves (Morgan 2005, 23). On account of this fragmentation, the task of reconstructing and dating the material is both a daunting and monumental one.

Another problem is that, with the exception of the palace centre at Knossos from which archaeologists have recovered the most complete iconographical programme, the remains from all of the other centres are especially sparse (Morgan 2005, 21). This further complicates our understanding of context and function. In the case of Knossos, however, though it represents the greatest amount of material, its chronology remains obscured on account of the early excavation of the site and the poor stratigraphical record.

These problems aside, however, there is one area in which wall painting is an invaluable source of information: regionalism. Unlike its counterparts in the minor art forms, such as ceramics and seals, the provenience of painted plaster is certain, though it may be displaced within a site and fragmentary in its preservation. This makes fresco a valuable resource for the mapping of regional consumption and production patterns in Neopalatial Crete, which in turn can reveal changes and developments in the social, cultural and economic role of artisans during this time period (Blakolmer 2000, 393), as well as the degree of artistic control exercised by the differing regional centres on the island. Since the palace centres of Neopalatial Crete functioned as administrative and ceremonial centres and because of the inherently palatial nature of wall painting, it is possible to determine the relative degree of artistic autonomy each palace centre had over

itself and its surrounding territory by the presence and combination of certain motifs (Boulotis 2000, 844).

The purpose of this study is to conduct a quantitative analysis of painted architectural plaster on Crete in the Neopalatial period in order to look for similarities and differences in the usage of these motifs and formulae in wall painting on a regional level. It is possible to conduct such a quantitative analysis because of the restricted nature of Minoan iconography: the number and types of artistic motifs used by the Minoans are limited and highly conservative. Minoan artists worked with a series of formulae, and these formulae appeared consistently from one artistic genre to another (Morgan 1985, 14; Walberg 1986, 3). Ultimately, the differences lay in the rearrangement and the recombination of this limited number of motifs.

Though modern scholarship has been generally preoccupied with trying to understand the meaning behind the images or their identification (Morgan 1985; Pini 1992), a number of archaeologists, including Blakolmer (2000), Boulotis (2000) and, most notably, Cameron (1968; 1978; *et al.* 1972; 1977) have recently turned their attention to the diffusion of wall painting as a marker for social and economic change. Particularly, Cameron's studies on artists' workshops and the identification of individual schools of fresco painters (1978) have provided especially valuable insight for the understanding of palatial relationships to artists.

Much work has also been conducted recently with a view towards the theory of itinerant artists working on Crete during both the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods (Boulotis 2000; Niemeier, 2000; Cameron 1978). It is thought that these itinerant artists, whether independent or controlled by a central authority, could be expected to travel both

on Crete and further afield according to the demand of the patrons (Boulotis 2000, 845). By mapping the regional distribution of specific motifs and their variations, strictly on a quantitative level, it is possible to discern that the centre for the fresco painters was at Knossos, but that these artists were largely independent, with their subject matter being dictated either according to the function of the building, or according to the choice of the patron.

Sara Immerwahr has made many significant contributions to the study of Aegean Bronze Age wall paintings, especially her 1990 publication, *Aegean Painting in the Bronze Age*. Although she has included in this book a large number of wall paintings in her own catalogue, she does not set out to establish any sort of quantitative analysis of the frescoes themselves. In fact, the study of motifs in and of themselves has been largely ignored. The *Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel (CMS)*, or Furumark's *Mycenaean Pottery* have no equivalent for Bronze Age fresco. Fritz Blakolmer, in collaboration with Stefan Hiller, is in the process of composing an annotated catalogue of all known fresco material from Bronze Age Crete, entitled the *Repertorium of the Painted Architectural Plaster Decoration in Minoan Crete*, though nothing has yet been published.¹ His belief is that a geographical survey of painted plaster in Bronze Age Crete allows for a greater understanding of "its deeper meaning according to the specific find places and sites in which it occurs" (Blakolmer 2000, 393), which is in line with the primary purpose of this study.

The quantitative portion of this study consists of a complete catalogue of the

¹ In his 2000 (393) publication, Blakolmer claimed that this catalogue was soon to be published. As of August 2008, no such publication seems to exist.

known fresco material from Crete,² dating from the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods. The fresco fragments included in this catalogue have been recorded in a database constructed using Microsoft AccessTM. The raw data from this database will then be interpreted in an analytical fashion within its archaeological context.

Regionalism and Geography

What is regionalism? At its most basic level, a region can be defined as a finite geographical area. In an archaeological sense, however, it becomes connected to the idea of culture. Therefore, regionalism may best be defined as a “geographical area, in which spatial divisions may be based on differences in archaeological cultures” (Smith 2002, 50). For the purposes of this study and within the context of a singular Minoan culture, ‘regionalism’ should also be understood as an area defined by an administrative centre (Christopoulos 2001, 1), in the case of individual palace centres and their connected town houses, and by their geographical boundaries, in the case of rural villas.

As with any interregional study, it is first necessary to define the geographical boundaries within which the wall paintings of Crete will be analysed. The island of Crete is met to the north by the Aegean Sea, and to south, by the Libyan. Its location “made it an ideal stepping stone for the spread of cultural influences and people, to and from the Cyclades, to the Greek mainland and its southern ports, and further afield to Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean” (Immerwahr 1990, 1-2). The island itself is quite mountainous and distinct geographic regions tend to be defined by topographical features: 23.4% of the island consists of plains, 26.7% is semi-mountainous, and 49.9% is

² In this instance, as complete as possible, given the limited availability of some resources, and the boundaries enforced by the scope of this thesis.

mountainous (Christopoulos 2001, 63). Because of the disposition of the major mountain ranges in the central zones of the island, throughout the Early and Middle Bronze Age the majority of the settlements can be found along the coastline. Geographically, the island can best be divided into three distinct zones: West Crete, Central Crete and East Crete (**Map 1**).

Though archaeological excavation on Crete has unearthed painted plaster material from nearly forty sites (**Map 2**), for this study material from a total of eighteen sites from each of the three geographical zones is to be examined. The number of sites chosen for this study reflects the desire to obtain a representative sample of fresco fragments from each geographic zone, though by necessity, some zones will be better represented than others in the archaeological record, as it is discussed below.

West Crete is dominated by the White Mountains to the south so that the major settlements in this region tended to occur on the northern coastline. Here, only one major site will be looked at, that of Chania/Kastelli, which was excavated by the Greek government in the 1960s and is currently being excavated by the Swedish Institute in Athens. The site of Nerokourou, also in West Crete will not be looked at herein. Although a Minoan villa of the Neopalatial period has been excavated there, the site has not been sufficiently published, and as such, there are no known remains of wall painting at this site.

Central Crete represents not only the greatest number of settlements during both the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods, but it is also in this region that the two largest and earliest palace centres were located: Knossos and Phaistos. Geographically, this area is framed by Mount Ida to the West and Mount Dikte to the East, with the majority of the

sites being located in the central plains: the Pediada to the north and the Mesara in the south. Fresco material in the Pediada principally comes from Knossos and its associated buildings: the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes. In addition to the centre at Knossos, fresco material from the sites of Tylissos, Archanes, Galatas, Katsamba, Prasa and Amnissos has also been collected and analysed. In the Mesara, the principal site is the palace centre at Phaistos, with fresco material having also been collected from Ayia Triadha and Kommos. The palace centre at Mallia, on the north coast to the east of Knossos, has also been included with Central Crete. In total, thirteen of the eighteen sites come from Central Crete.

The remaining four sites that were looked at come from East Crete. These include Zakros, comprised of the palace centre at Kato Zakros and the villa at Epano Zakros, as well as the settlements of Pseira and Palaikastro. Geographically, East Crete comprises the most diverse topography, which includes the Lasithi Plain to the northwest, the Ierapetra Isthmus at its centre and two major mountain ranges in the prefecture of Siteia. Despite, or perhaps on account of the rugged topography of this part of the island, all of these sites are located on the coastline.

In terms of the geographic distribution of wall painting remains, Knossos was the dominant centre, as it has been previously noted. Whether this is due to an accident of preservation is difficult to say for certain, but Immerwahr (1990, 3) believes it to be either a reflection of differing architectural tastes,³ or due to a Knossian monopoly on the fresco painters. The possible meanings and reasons for this Knossian dominance will be looked at in greater detail in Chapters Four and Five.

³ This seems unlikely given the close architectural similarities between the palace centres and other court-centred buildings on Crete in the Neopalatial period.

Chronology

In the Aegean Bronze Age, and particularly on Crete, it is often easier to define geographical boundaries than it is to establish chronological ones (Immerwahr 1990, 5). Here, both Evans' ceramic phases and Platon's architectural phases have been employed, since it is already the convention of those who study fresco to date them using this combination. The Early-Middle-Late Minoan system developed by Evans is largely predicated by changes in ceramic styles, while the broader Pre-, Proto-, Neo-, Final and Post palatial phases developed by Nikolas Platon are based upon the cycles of construction and destruction of the Minoan palatial centres. Alternatively, the Protopalatial period can, and has been commonly referred to as either the 'First Palace Period', or the 'Old Palace Period'. The Neopalatial period has equally been called the 'Second Palace Period', or 'New Palace Period'. The destruction periods between the different palace periods, and their ramifications for Minoan culture will be discussed at length in the following section. The correlation between these two relative dating systems and the approximate absolute dates can be found in Table 1. The period directly following the LM IB destructions of all the palaces except Knossos has traditionally been referred to as the Postpalatial period, though it is decidedly more accurate to refer to this period as 'Final Palatial', and to reserve the term 'Postpalatial' for the LM IIIA2 period, at which time the palace at Knossos was also destroyed (Rehak and Younger 1998, 384-385).

It should be understood that neither of the above systems is perfect, and a number of chronological problems occur, especially on an interregional level. On a regional level, it has already been demonstrated that all of Crete does not follow a single,

homogenous chronological development (*see* Cunningham and Driessan 2004; Rehak and Younger 1998, 392; Shoep 2002, 23). Another problem is the current debate between scholars about the High Chronology and the Low Chronology, which concerns the date of the Theran eruption, and consequently the absolute date of the LM I/II periods (*see* Manning 1999; Betancourt 1990). Thus, it should be noted that Table 1 is an oversimplification of the chronology of Bronze Age Crete.

In addition to an imprecise chronological nomenclature, our understanding of the developmental phases on Crete has been hampered by archaeological problems. These problems range from poor publishing and differing excavation techniques and recording, to a lack of preservation, especially at sites such as Knossos, which were excavated at the beginning of the twentieth century. There is still not a single site on Crete at which a full chronological sequence has been excavated. That is to say, a given site might show evidence for the entire EM period, and for the LM period, but nothing might yet have been uncovered for the MM period. At another site, perhaps only the MM and the LM IIIB periods are represented. At Phaistos, for example, the Final Neolithic period has been published, but nothing from the Early Minoan period. At Knossos, the records are most notably lacking for the transitional EM I and MM IB/II phases, from which we would gather our data for the developmental phases of the first palaces on Crete (Watrous 1999, 213).

Moreover, the nature of the material itself, that is to say, the plaster upon which the frescoes were painted, is also problematic. Preservation of the fresco material is always fragmentary, and as such, so is our understanding of it (Morgan 2005, 21). Further complicating the fragmentary nature of the evidence is the fact that painted

plaster tended to decorate the interior walls of upper storey rooms. When these rooms were destroyed, the plaster would fall into the rooms below in unstratified heaps (Immerwahr 1990, 10; Morgan 2005, 23). Also, as it has been mentioned above, the greatest number of recovered fresco fragments come from dumps outside of the palace centres themselves, dumps which often contain material dating from the Neolithic period until the Hellenistic and even Roman times (Walberg 1986, 58).

In many instances there is not much that can be done to resolve these chronological issues; there are, however, a number of ways to lessen them. First, by making geography, rather than chronology, the primary focus of this study, it is possible to reduce the impact of stratigraphically unsecured fragments. Also, since the chronological sequence is more easily discerned by architectural phase, the fragments will be dated primarily in this way, on account of the destructions at the end of each of these phases sealing in the material from the previous one. The relative ceramic sequences will be used in conjunction with the architectural phases in order to provide greater precision whenever possible, as discussed above.

Historical Context

Wall painting on Minoan Crete, being domestic and seemingly decorative or strictly functional rather than purely ceremonial, is unique when compared to wall paintings from the Near East and Egypt. The earliest accepted fragments of painted plaster on the island come from the EM II settlements of Myrtos Fournou-Koriphi and Vasiliki, both in Central Crete, and appear to originate in a 'living' context, rather than

from burials, as was the tendency for Egyptians and in the Near East.⁴ The Minoan predilection for painting walls in a primarily domestic or palatial context continued into the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods (Morgan 2005, 21).

That the primary purpose of Minoan wall painting was functional and a sign of elite status,⁵ rather than ceremonial, is evidenced by the developmental phases of painted plaster on the island. Initially, the practice of coating the interior walls of a house was likely to have originated from its function as a waterproofing agent (Immerwahr 1990, 11). In these instances, however, the lime plaster that was being used was actually an admixture of lime and clay, with an approximate ratio of 1:1 for each of the ingredients,⁶ rather than the lime plaster used at Knossos during the Neopalatial period, which was approximately 96% pure (Cameron *et al.* 1977, 147-180).

The Prepalatial Period

In the EM period the painting is restricted to monochromatic red (Immerwahr 1990, 3; Hood 1985, 25; 2000, 191; Blakolmer 2000, 396). At Myrtos Fournou-Korifi there may be evidence for decorative plaster in EM II, but the poor preservation of the material makes this conclusion ambiguous at best (Hood 1985, 25).

The evidence from Myrtos does indicate that it was a small community, initially consisting of approximately five or six households, with perhaps 25 to 30 persons in total, and growing to accommodate a population of around 100 to 120 people over a period of

⁴ Arguably, the earliest fragment of painted plaster on Crete “appears to come from a safe context of the final Neolithic at Phaistos, which was the largest settlement in the Mesara during this period. This final Neolithic fragment has remains of a geometric design in red on a white ground” (Hood 1985, 25; see also Walberg 1986, 57).

⁵ Though the aesthetic value should not be discounted by any means; even if only a monochromatic red, it implies that some aesthetical value was assigned.

⁶ Since a higher proportion of clay allows for a higher degree of waterproofing.

about two hundred years (Whitelaw 1981, 324; Warren 1972, 80-87; Blakolmer 2000, 396) (Fig. 1). Many of the houses at Myrtos, which were generally one-storey buildings constructed of mud brick and stone, had monochromatic red painted plaster interior walls (Watrous 1999, 167).

At Vasiliki, red painted plaster walls and floors occurred only in a structure called by Zois the ‘Red House’, which was a large structure that was built on the southern half of the hill top (Fig. 2). This structure seems to date to the EM IIB period. To the west of the ‘Red House’ was a paved court, which could possibly be interpreted as a precursor to the court-centred buildings of the palatial periods (Watrous 1999, 169-171). The other Prepalatial houses excavated at Vasiliki were generally one-storied buildings constructed of rubble held together with earth or mud, or in some cases, constructed of mud brick (Immerwahr 1990, 10; Rehak and Younger 1998, 401; Morgan 2005, 23).

Already in the Prepalatial period, there appears to be a sense of social stratification with respect to the usage of monochromatic painted plaster. Blakolmer suggests that the red painted plaster “served as a representative feature of hierarchically dominant ‘mansions’ regardless of specific room functions” (Blakolmer 2000, 396). This same trend would seem to continue into the Protopalatial period, where the appearance of painted wall plaster was restricted to the large court-centered administrative buildings at Knossos and Phaistos.

The Protopalatial Period

In MM IA, there is an increase in urban nucleation around Phaistos and Knossos, and there appear to have been sizable settlements at Mallia, Gournia and Palaikastro

(Watrous 1999, 182-189). The Protopalatial period, from MM IA to MM II, saw the first appearance of large court-centred structures, or ‘palaces’, at Knossos and Phaistos (Watrous 1999, 203).⁷ Wall painting appears to have been restricted only to these two palaces in the Protopalatial period and there is no evidence for figural fresco at this time; that is to say, there are no representations of animals, plants or humans. Rather, the forms are abstract in nature: we see examples of quatrefoils (PH 002),⁸ spirals (PH 001), sponge imprints (KN 002), meanders (PH 003) and other abstract forms at both Knossos and Phaistos, with fragments coming predominantly from the latter (Immerwahr 1990, 6; 22; Walberg 1986, 67-71). Since a more detailed analysis of the specific motifs from this time period will be presented in Chapter Three, for now, it should be understood that figural wall paintings most certainly began in Central Crete as a ‘palatial’ art form.

In addition to the painted plaster, a fragment of plaster relief was found in the fill of a drain to the south of the Royal Road at Knossos, which might date to the MM II period, thus establishing this as the earliest possible date for painted relief (Hood 1985, 25). This is, however, a singular example: no other relief material has been excavated from any Minoan site during the Protopalatial period.

At the end of the Protopalatial period, around MM II/IIIA, the first palaces at Knossos and Phaistos were destroyed, most likely by one or more earthquakes. Destruction layers also appear at the sites of Mallia, particularly at *Quartiers Mu* and *Nu*, and at Monasteraki, Myrtos Pyrgos, Apodoulou, Galatas and Palaikastro (Immerwahr

⁷ Recent excavations seem to indicate a MM IA date for the earliest palace at Knossos (Watrous 1999, 199).

⁸ These catalogue numbers will be explained in further detail in Chapter Two. In addition to functioning as a reference number for the fresco fragment itself, however, these numbers are also the associated figure number, and the photographic material for each of these reference numbers can be found on the CD-ROM included with the study.

1990, 6; Rehak and Younger 1998, 392; Watrous 1999, 213). After the destructions, new palaces were constructed overtop of the old ones, effectively sealing in Protopalatial debris and deposits, especially at Phaistos, where a layer of concrete was poured over the Protopalatial remains to serve as a foundation for the second palace (Immerwahr 1990, 6). The exact causes, or even the precise time of these destructions are matters that are still unsettled, causing much disagreement among scholars (Rehak and Younger 1998, 384).

The Neopalatial Period

At the beginning of the Neopalatial period, which spans the MM III- LM IB phases, new palace centres appeared quite suddenly, such as at Galatas (Rethemiotakis 2002) and Petras (Tsipopoulou 1994). Despite the break in architectural phases between the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods, there does not appear to have been breaks in Minoan culture, but rather, the appearance of the new palaces seem to indicate an administrative and architectural consolidation (Rehak and Younger 1998, 392). In this period, the four major palace centres can be found at Knossos, Phaistos, Mallia and Zakros, of which all but Zakros also included a west court in addition to its central courtyard. Other, smaller court-centred buildings, such as those previously mentioned at Galatas and Petras, have been found in recent excavations. These also include possible court-centred buildings at Chania, at Stavromenos-Chamalevri, east of Rethymnon, Building T at Kommos, Tourkoyeitionia in Archanes, and Gournia.⁹ Arguably, some of

⁹ In many instances these smaller palace centres cannot be confirmed either on account of incomplete excavations, as is the case in Chania and Rethymnon, or because there is still scholarly debate over which 'court-centered' buildings can rightfully be called 'palaces' and which ones cannot. See Rehak and Younger 1998, 394-395.

these constructs have been more accurately termed ‘villas’, such as the villa at Tourkoyeitionia, but each of these buildings consists of palatial architectonic features including orthostates, ashlar masonry, and, most importantly, central courtyards. Whether these sites should be considered more rightly as either villas or ‘palaces’, there was evidently a greater number of ‘court-centred’ buildings present in Neopalatial Crete than had been previously thought (Rehak and Younger 1998, 394-395).

It is possible to see expansion occurring at every major centre on the island. At Chania, the MM II constructs were replaced by more expansive MM III/ LM IA buildings; at Knossos, the MM III/LM IA palace was extensively remodelled and expanded; both Kommos and Ayia Triadha show evidence for the construction of newer, grander buildings upon the remains of their Protopalatial antecedents (Rehak and Younger 1998, 392).

The construction of the second palaces heralded an explosion in fresco usage on Crete. No longer was wall painting restricted to monochromatic red backgrounds and a limited number of abstract representations, but now, for the first time, figurative fresco appears, including representations not only of the human figure, but also representations of plants, animals and marine creatures, as well as supernatural creatures denoting an increasing Near Eastern influence (Immerwahr 1990, 21-22; Boulotis 2000, 847). It is, in fact, from the LM IA period that archaeologists have recovered the greatest number of fresco fragments (**Fig. 3**). This “quantitative as well as qualitative and thematic explosion” (Boulotis 2000, 847) at Knossos itself has effectively led Cameron (1975, 271; 1976, 12) to talk about a Knossian ‘fresco industry’ in which itinerant fresco artists were seemingly being controlled by the palace centre at Knossos.

In addition to a greater number of artistic motifs in wall painting, there is a greater geographical presence of this major art form across the island as a whole, not only in palace centres, but now also in elite town houses, rural villages, shrines and peak sanctuaries, though the amount of fresco material at sites outside of Knossos is markedly less (Immerwahr 1990, 2-3; 39-40; Boulotis 2000, 847).

Although Phaistos continued to function as a powerful administrative centre in the Mesara, however, the art of fresco appears to disappear entirely (Boulotis 2000, 847). Though a few fragments of non-figurative fresco could be dated to this time period, the dating of these pieces is tenuous at best (Walberg 1986, 67-70). It has been suggested that many of the administrative functions of the palace centre had been moved to the villa at Ayia Triada during this time period (Shoep 2002, 28), and the current painted plaster evidence would seem to support such an argument.

During the LM IB period, widespread destructions are once again seen in the archaeological record of the island. As with the destructions of the MM II/III period, no satisfactory explanation is yet forthcoming, but they “appear selective and carefully planned to destroy as many administrative centres as possible” (Rehak and Younger 1998, 440). Unlike the destructions at the end of the Protopalatial period, which caused little disruption to Minoan culture, the end of the Neopalatial period was also the end of the palaces on Crete, with the exception of the palace centre at Knossos. It is in the following LM II that a strong Mycenaean influence can be seen, as much in the arts as in the presence of Linear B tablets at the palace of Knossos (Immerwahr 1990, 9; Rehak and Younger 1998, 440-442), which would suggest a stronger Mycenaean presence on the

island in this later period. The palace centre at Knossos was later destroyed in LM IIIA, around 1375 BCE (Immerwahr 1990, 7).

With the LM IB destructions on the island, the art of fresco was lost from all centres except those buildings associated with the palace at Knossos.¹⁰ It is for this reason that this study will only look at the material from the Proto- and Neopalatial periods in detail. Some few fragments of Final Palatial fresco have been included because they were likely of LM IA origin, based on their decorative styles.

Goals of the Study

The primary goal of this study is to ascertain the degree of interregional artistic autonomy in Minoan wall painting of the Neopalatial period. The secondary goal is to create a comprehensive catalogue of the fresco material from the seventeen sites used in this study. In order to accomplish these two tasks, Chapter Two will develop a methodology with which to organize the material evidence, and will explain the particularities of the database created in order to do so. The third and fourth chapters represent an exposition of the material from the database discussed in the second chapter. An analysis of the material from the two previous chapters will be assessed in Chapter Five, with the sixth and final chapter containing my conclusions as well as exploring avenues of further research based on the material presented within the thesis.

More specifically, Chapter Two will focus on methodology and motif, thus defining the major parameters of this study. In order to assess the degree of regionalism

¹⁰ The only exceptions here are the LM IIIA paintings at Ayia Triada, including the sarcophagus (AT 001-002). There are not, however, any fresco reliefs outside of Knossos for the intermediate periods (LM IB-LM IIIA). These few examples from Ayia Triada also show a number of attributes linking them to schools of painting seen on the Mycenaean Mainland (see Immerwahr 1990, 100-103).

in Minoan fresco, it was first necessary to create a framework within which to organize and quantify the numerous motifs as they appear in wall painting. This was achieved through the creation of a database, the explanation of which forms the main component of this chapter. Additionally, there exists no standard of identification for the hundreds of fresco fragments currently stored in a number of museums on Crete. Though many pieces are currently housed in the Heraklion Museum, only the pieces that are currently on display have a museum number; those in storage are assigned tray numbers only. As such, an alphanumeric identification system was created that allows for the regional sorting of the numerous fragments. Also, since there is no consistent typology of motif in wall painting it was necessary to include a preliminary typology of the eight major categories of motifs to be used in this study. A total of seventy-three motifs were recorded among these eight categories. It is the usage of these seventy-three motifs, in Neopalatial wall painting, both in isolation as well in connection with other motifs, which can reveal the patterns of production and consumption for Minoan elites, and consequently, can offer insight into the cultural and artistic framework of this period.

Chapters Three and Four will address the raw data presented in the database on a site by site basis in order to place the fresco fragments into their geographic and archaeological contexts. The material from each site will be presented in a systematic fashion, highlighting the dominant motifs present at each location, as well as the archaeological context of the material itself. The focus of the third chapter will be the Protopalatial evidence from Phaistos, as well as the Neopalatial evidence from all of the other sites mentioned previously, save for Knossos, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes, which will be discussed separately in the fourth chapter.

The reasons for segregating the material from Knossos and its associated buildings are twofold: first, the dominance of Knossian wall painting in the overall record has the unavoidable result of creating a Knossocentric view of this art form as a whole; second, the fresco material from Knossos is the least chronologically secure. By addressing the material from Knossos separately and after an analysis of the material from the rest of the island, the interregional patterns that exist in the areas beyond its control become clearer, and the tendency to assume a high degree of artistic control exercised by Knossian elites is consequently minimised.

As in the third chapter, the Protopalatial material will be addressed first, in order to provide an adequate background for the developments in wall painting in Neopalatial period. As well, a systematic presentation of the motifs will be included, following the model established in Chapter Three.

Chapter Five will present an analysis of the material presented in Chapters Three and Four in an attempt to argue against Knossian control of the major art of painted plaster in the Neopalatial period. As these two chapters deal with the fresco material in a quantitative and strictly descriptive fashion, the fifth chapter will compare this data from one region to another. This will help to establish the relative degree of artistic autonomy exercised by each of the sites included in this study. The distribution patterns observed in this study will be weighed out against the theories of itinerant artists and Knossian controlled artist workshops.

Though it would be tempting to link the regional patterns discussed in Chapter Five to the concepts of political control and autonomy, this is not possible for a number of reasons. In order to apply the findings of this study to a larger political model, it is

first necessary to bridge the gap between political, economic and cultural control. Is it possible and even wise, however, to assume that these regional patterns are all being controlled by a single entity, be it one person or a single group of individuals from one centre? If we cannot bridge this gap, can we use wall painting as a barometer for political and economic control at all? It is often the penchant of the scholar to associate with political complexity the control of “such processes as religion, art, and other fields of symbolic behaviour... [which] can shape...[support] or [subvert] the established order” (Nikolaidou 2002, 75), and as such, to see these processes as inextricably intertwined. In many ways, we would expect that regional variations would change according to changing social realities (Nikolaidou 2002, 78). The gap between material artifacts, in this case, wall paintings, has been viewed as a great divide from the social aspects, further encumbered by the fact that we do not have entire pictorial programs preserved for us, but indeed, only a “few scrappy sherds” (Knappett 2002, 167).

Chapter Six will present final conclusions and the broader implications and applications of this study. This will include a generalized application of the conclusions drawn in the previous chapters to fresco material from the Mycenaean mainland, and to material from Akrotiri. The purpose in doing so is to suggest avenues for further studies based on the application of the conclusions of this one, since it would be impossible to include any sort of thorough analysis within the constraints of this particular study. In addition, suggestions for the further use of the catalogue created in Chapter Two will also be addressed at this time.

As will be seen, there is a degree of regional difference in the usage of specific motifs in Neopalatial wall painting. Though the greatest number of motifs and the largest

amount of material comes from the palace centre at Knossos, it would be an error to believe it to be in control of this art form, though it is likely that the artists were coming from, and likely trained at this centre. The argument for itinerant artists during this time period is a strong one, but the assumption that these travelling artists were being controlled by any one palace-centre is an erroneous one. Rather, the similarities and differences in iconographical usage seen across the island suggest that the choices were predicated either by the specific patrons, or by the function of the associated building or room. Thus, the motifs found in Neopalatial wall painting should be understood as constituting a cultural identity, with greater or lesser degrees of regional homogeneity. In this instance political control cannot be conflated with artistic control: without further studies pertaining to the links between these two spheres of Minoan culture there is no way in which regional political trends can be directly bound to regional artistic ones.

Chapter 2

Motifs and Methodology

...the purpose of the typological method is the accurate determination of each type in space and time, so that in the final analysis it will be possible to give to each type of archaeological object...meaning....with the help of which one will be able to read the history of the material and social culture...and...its development.

Gorodkov 1933, 101-102

A regional study of motifs as they appear within the fragmentary remains of the wall paintings of Minoan Crete makes for a great deal of raw data. This data first needs to be organized before it can be interpreted in any useful manner; the creation of a database in Microsoft Access™ serves as a solution to this problem (**Appendix 1**). In addition to ordering the raw data itself, the database can also facilitate the recognition of regional patterns of consumption and usage, based on the frequencies of some motifs over others, by filtering the data itself.¹

It is not the purpose of this study to examine the motifs on a technical level, but rather, merely to identify the presence or absence of a particular motif at a number of sites in order to better understand simply ‘what’ are being used. In no instance will the

¹ The description of the fields and their placement in the database refers to the database itself in its ‘table’ format, as it is included on the CD-ROM accompanying this thesis. In the printed version, Appendix 1, the records have been printed in the following order for the sake of formatting: Reference Number; Category 1; Category 2; Scene Type; Relief; Alternative Reference Number; Location; Common Name; Period; Relative Date; Motifs 1-6; Background Colour; Other Colours; Main Source; Other Source 1. Only two sources were included on the printed record since the full version will be provided in table format on the CD-ROM.

technical aspects regarding the degree of skill or style be judged since this would bring in an unnecessary bias and subjectivity to a study that is intended to be as objective as possible. The evidence is in the presence or absence of a motif, not in its overall execution.

First, an alphanumeric referencing system was created, based in large part on that created by Sara Immerwahr in her 1990 publication, *Aegean Wall Painting in the Bronze Age*.² Such a referencing system was created in order to identify the fresco fragments and their find spots more easily rather than using the less meaningful museum numbers, which do not indicate in any way their original context.

While Immerwahr does not distinguish between the various major buildings at Knossos, for this study, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes have been given separate reference numbers and are abbreviated as UM and HF, accordingly.³ This has been done for two principal reasons: first, because there is a large enough body of evidence from each of the sites to allow for their separate analysis; second, because the type of building associated with the frescoes influences the types of motifs that are found (see Chapter Five), making their distinction from the palace centre an important one. In the case of Zakros, both the palace at Kato Zakro and the villa at Epano Zakro have been included together under the abbreviation ZA, though a record of their separate contexts has been preserved in the ‘Findspot’ field of the database. In this particular case, there was not a large enough sample from either location to warrant distinguishing between the two sites within the database.

The referencing system is composed of a two-letter abbreviation denoting the site,

² Though my assigned numbers very rarely correspond to those assigned by Immerwahr.

³ That said, all three ‘sites’ will be looked at together in Chapter Four.

and a number, assigned as the images of the separate fresco fragments were collected for the study, starting at '001' for each site. For example, the 'Lily Fresco' from Amnisos has been identified in the database as AM 001; the 'Dado with Curving Bands' from Knossos has, in turn, been identified as KN 001. A complete concordance table of the reference abbreviations for each site can be found in **Appendix 2**.

When a number of fragments have been reconstructed and consistently published as a single composition, a single reference number has been given. When the fresco is presented as separate fragments, as in the case of the fresco material from Room 14 in the Villa at Ayia Triada, a reference number is allocated to each section: thus AT 003 consists of the section comprising the 'Cat in the Lilies', and AT 004 represents the section comprising the 'Goddess', though both of these fragments come from the same context. At the Unexplored Mansion the larger fragments have each been catalogued separately; though Cameron would suggest they all belong to a single composition, their extremely fragmentary preservation makes it difficult to ascertain their definitive unity.⁴

Two 'Category' fields follow the alphanumeric identification of each fresco fragment, and these pertain to the broadest level of motif identification. There are eight possible categories assignable to a fresco fragment: human, textile, abstract, vegetal, animal, marine, architectural, or object. Two fields, 'Category 1' and 'Category 2' have been included because there is often an overlap between these broad motif definitions. The nature scene from the Villa at Ayia Triada (AT 003 and AT 004) containing human figures, animals and vegetation provides one such instance of this overlap.

By creating eight consistent categories, it is possible to run filters for regional occurrences more easily. For example, a site that only contains human and textile

⁴ This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four.

fragments would not be included in a study of abstract fragments, nor would a site that only yielded abstract fragments be looked at for comparanda for animal or marine motifs. Thus, it allows for sorting at an early stage, which is necessary given the body of evidence.

The separate motifs that make up these eight broad categories have also been assigned an alphanumeric code, this time for the sake of consistency within the database, once again providing greater ease when running the filters. A concordance table of these codes can be found in **Appendix 3**. The first two letters of the category name followed by a number have been used: abstract motifs are labelled AB, animal motifs are AN, humans are HU, marine motifs are MA, objects are OB, textiles are TE, and vegetal motifs are labelled VE. For instance, the motif of the running spiral, which belongs to the abstract category, is identified as AB24, while a cat is identified as AN02.

Though Furumark's *The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery* (1941) served as a starting point for the identification of certain distinct motifs, his system, created for ceramic motifs, was not found to be wholly appropriate for the purposes of this study. For this reason, the system described above was created. In it, the motifs themselves have been identified at the smallest single unit while still being a recognizable entity; for instance, although a stylized leaf pattern might be broken down further into two j-spirals, the motif itself is still categorised as a leaf. This is to avoid breaking the motifs down into smaller composite units than is ultimately meaningful.

Two other general categories, that of 'isolated architectural features' and 'monochromatic fragments' have also been included: they are identified as AR01 and MO01, respectively. Architectural motifs have only been identified as present or absent.

Given the fragmentary nature of much of the evidence, it is often not possible to accurately identify the structure being represented by the image, and to do so is largely based on interpretation that would add an unwanted subjective element to my study. Consequently, there is only one reference code specifically associated with this category, which is used only to identify an isolated architectural motif, such as the columns in fragment KN 040. That said, whatever other motifs that are present, such as those from ‘Abstract’ or ‘Object’ categories, for instance, have been identified and included in the database using those reference codes as appropriate. An example of this is the fragment KN 004, from the Ivory Deposits at Knossos, wherein the architectural façade is decorated with double axes (OB02), a checkerboard pattern (AB04), and horizontal lines (AB13).

In addition to the eight categories and the motifs themselves, the scene type is also included, whenever possible. These types pertain mostly to those wall paintings with human figures, but can include other categories. They consist of, but are not limited to, Processional Scenes, Life-sized Human figures, Taureador or Athletic Scenes, Nature, or Landscape Scenes, and Miniature Frescoes. These particular fields will not be discussed in Chapters Three and Four, as they are of lesser importance to the study overall than the eight categories of motifs. They will, however, be reviewed in Chapter Five, since they do reveal important patterns of distribution in correlation with those created by the eight primary motif categories. In addition, the presence of relief plaster is also noted in a separate field.

The database also includes information pertaining to the specific find spot of the fresco fragment, whenever available, as well as its original museum inventory number,

and reference number within Immerwahr's catalogue, when and if she has included it (Immerwahr 1990, 170-185). Following this information is the fresco's common or popular name: for example, the 'Priest King' fresco from Knossos (KN 034). When no such name exists, a brief description title is given for the sake of a quick identification.

Subsequently, the architectural and ceramic periods are listed; thus the fragments will first be identified as Pre-, Proto-, Neo-, or Post-palatial, then they will be placed within Evans' Early-Middle-Late Minoan ceramic system. Because Evans had developed this system for the ceramic material from Knossos, and since it is not entirely accurate for the entire island, Platon's architectural phases have also been included in the previous field, as discussed in the previous chapter.

As has been said in the previous chapter, Platon's system is less chronologically precise than Evans', which is perhaps more useful for the study of wall paintings. It is, however, already the convention of those who study fresco to date them using a combination of Platon and Evans' systems (Immerwahr 1990, 6). Because it is difficult to know how long a wall painting may have remained on a wall, and also, because a large amount of fresco material tends to come from unstratified plaster dumps outside the palace centres, establishing a specific chronological timeline for this material is difficult, and at times, impossible. By using both of these systems, it is possible to be both accurate while being precise. As it has already been noted, the primary areas of interest for this study are the Proto- and Neopalatial periods, thus, the MM I through the LM IB period, though some Postpalatial fragments from Knossos have been included in the database, the reasons for which are discussed in Chapter Four.

After the chronological fields of the database, there are five fields available for

the identification of the motifs using the alphanumeric system previously discussed. The motifs will be discussed below as part of their general categories (**Appendix 3**).

Human and Textile

Necessarily, ‘Human’ and ‘Textile’ categories are inescapably intertwined, since generally, if textiles are present, therefore too, are human figures. The manners in which each of these will be used, however, are markedly different. For humans, it is strictly their presence or absence that is of interest, as well as the scene types in which they appear. Human figures are categorised in one of three ways: female, male, or unknown if the fragment is too small or poorly preserved to be identified.⁵

For textiles, a number of distinctions must be made. First, it is not the style or type of garment that is of interest here, but rather, it is the abstract motif represented on the fabric. As such, a repeating chevron pattern that is meant to represent folds or flounces in the fabric will not be noted. Only those motifs that are meant to represent a purely decorative element, as in the case of woven texture, or embroidered elements, will be noted. Also, the part of the garment on which the motif appears will not be noted; the reason for this is that the evidence is often much too fragmentary and the reconstruction too unreliable or uncertain for such an identification to be made.

In addition, there is a great deal of overlap between those motifs in the ‘Textile’ category and those under the heading of ‘Abstract’. In order to avoid repetition, each motif has only been given one alphanumeric reference number; as such, should a motif that was originally identified under an ‘AB’ reference appear in the context of a textile, it

⁵ Generally, this will not be the case, given the Minoan convention of using dark/red skin for males and white skin for females, but it does occasionally occur, especially on textile fragments, or when the skin colour is not preserved.

would maintain its 'AB' identification, while its nature as a textile would be preserved under one of the two 'Category' fields. Consequently, only three motifs have been labelled as 'TE', with those abstract motifs found both in purely decorative contexts as well as on textiles being identified as 'AB', with the 'Textile' element preserved under its categorical heading.

Abstract

An abstract motif is defined as a recurrent element, often highly stylized, within an overall composition that does not play a narrative role. In Minoan wall painting, these motifs are most often found in the form of borders or background filler, though they are also found as the main constituent of a number of frescoes, and in the form of tapestry used on ceilings or floors. On Crete, as discussed in the previous chapter, the first representational wall paintings consisted solely of abstract motifs. Necessarily, the 'Abstract' category contains the greatest number of different motifs. In addition to the overlap between this category and those motifs found under 'Textiles', it is also this category that occurs most often in conjunction with each of the other categories; abstract motifs appear as much in Nature Scenes as on painted architectural façades. That said, however, little can be gleaned from the abstract motifs in and of themselves; this is because there are too many different patterns and not enough recurring patterns to draw any real conclusions. There are still a number of advantages for this particular category of motif on wall painting, however, among which is the relative rarity of figural fresco outside of Knossos; thus, the inclusion of so many abstract motifs allows the inclusion of those sites at which there are only abstract motifs.

A total of thirty abstract motifs have been identified on the wall paintings of

Minoan Crete. Generally, these motifs are of two types: rectilinear or curvilinear. They include, but are not limited to: spirals, rosettes, chevrons, crosshatching, circles, wavy lines, dots, imprints, and other highly stylized motif representations. A separate reference code has been assigned to each of the major variations of these motifs, since the occurrences of each variation can be as enlightening as the presence of the ‘base’ form itself. For example, the spiral appears in four alternate forms in addition to the basic spiral: an antithetical j-spiral, a running spiral, a repeating spiral, and a dotted spiral (AB20-24). Variations of this sort also occur with banding, circles and lines.

Some highly stylized vegetal motifs have also been included under this heading, on account of their primary functions as repetitive background patterns, though the ‘Vegetal’ category has been retained, once again, in one of the two ‘Category’ fields. On fragment KN 018, for example, the rosette is used only as a decorative accent within the running spiral. Moreover, as in the case of KN 026, when the motif is so highly stylized as to be barely recognizable as a representation of plant life, it has been included as an abstract motif, here as an antithetical j-spiral (AB21). The papyrus in the centre, however, has been categorised as vegetal (VE04).

Vegetal

The ‘Vegetal’ category in Minoan wall painting is inherently problematic in terms of definition. The distinction between a ‘non-narrative’ plant and a ‘narrative’ one is not always evident; that is to say, whether a particular depiction of a plant is being used as part of an overall scene, or whether its function is strictly decorative. Nor is it always easy to define a ‘stylized’ plant form from a ‘naturalistic’ one. The ‘Lily Fresco’ at Amnisos (AM 001) is an excellent example of both of these problems. The leaves on

the lily stalks are more stylized than natural, and the plant itself does not appear to play a narrative role within a larger composition. It does, however, seem to represent a plant in a garden, which could be considered as a type of narrative “still-life”.

The solution to such a problem has already been discussed under the ‘Abstract’ heading; that is to say, any vegetal motif that is not *highly* stylized, or part of a *purely* decorative repetitive pattern, falls under the category of ‘vegetal’.

Insofar as the botanical identification is concerned, it is not the purpose of this study to identify each and every plant species by *genus* that is found on Cretan wall painting. Much work has already been done pertaining to botanical identification in Minoan wall painting (Angelopoulou 2000; Cerceau 1985; Chapin 2004; Panagiotakopoulou 2000; Porter 2000; Shaw 1978). In this instance botanical classification has been kept as simple as possible. All flowering stalks have been identified strictly as ‘floral’ motifs excepting the crocus, lily, papyrus and saffron plants (VE01-05), because of their particular iconographic importance in Minoan art. Beyond the floral motifs, grasses have been acknowledged as such, while leafy vegetation has been categorised only as ‘leaves’ (VE07) unless it depicts ferns or vines (VE08-09). Finally, all trees have been categorised as ‘trees’ (VE10).

Animal and Marine

As was the case for vegetal motifs, the classification of animal and marine motifs has been kept simple. Also, supernatural creatures, land dwelling and marine, have been included within these two categories, respectively. Generally, it will suffice to refer to specific creatures only by their species: as such, all cats will fall under the heading of

‘cat’ (AN03), while all birds, including hoopoes and partridges, will fall under the heading of ‘birds’ (AN01). With the exception of *bucrania*, which fall under the category of ‘Objects’, all bulls and other cattle will fall under the heading of ‘bulls’ (AN02). Such is the case for goats (AN04), mice (AN05), and monkeys (AN06), regardless of colouring. Thus far, only two mythological creatures have been included as animal motifs: the griffin and the sphinx (AN07-08). Since butterflies and other insects are quite rare outside of Thera fresco (Panagiotakopoulou 2000, 585-592), they have not been included in this study.

Marine creatures have been classified in a similar fashion. Dolphins (MA02) are categorically distinct from other fish (MA03). In any instance where a fragmentary motif could be identified as either a fish or a dolphin, it will be classified as a fish by default, as is the case for fragment AR 009. Various species of molluscs and crustaceans have not been individualized, but rather have been separated only into one of these two classes (MA01 and MA04), respectively.

Objects

The final category, that of ‘Objects’, was created in order to place those motifs that did not fit into any of the above categories. Such objects as double axes and *bucrania*, shields, garlands, sacral knots, and horns of consecration have been included in this category. As with abstract motifs, ‘Objects’ often tend to overlap with other categories, appearing at times as decorative patterns on architectural façades, as part of garden scenes, or even on textile patterns. At Knossos, in particular, these ‘Objects’ can form the focal point of the scene, as on the ‘Shield’ and ‘Garland’ frescoes, KN 008 and

KN 017, respectively. Most times, however, they are background elements of a larger scene, functioning in much the same way as an abstract motif.

Remaining Fields

Following the fields pertaining to motifs are another six fields to allow for the notation of the major colours. The value of such information is limited given that most photographic representations of the fresco fragments are in black and white, or in line drawings, and no supplemental data is provided describing the colours. That said, the notation of the colours may be important in future studies.

Finally, the database includes fields for the gathering of bibliographic data for each of the fragments, including image sources, and a section for miscellaneous notes, in order to include relevant or pertinent information that does not fit elsewhere. A checkbox has been included to indicate whether an image has been acquired for each particular fresco fragment.

Although the primary function of this study is to search for regional patterns of distribution for motifs in Minoan wall painting, the database created as the backbone of this study will provide a tool, not only to achieve the purposes of this study, but also to facilitate future studies for this particular art form, both in and of itself, and also in comparison to other art forms, such as ceramics and seals. Its value as a collection of painted wall plaster fragments is undeniable, as it will be seen in the next chapters, wherein the raw data from the database itself will be both presented and analysed.

Chapter Three

The Hundred Cities of Crete: Fresco from Sites except Knossos

*Κρήτη τις γαῖ' ἔστι, μέσῳ ἐνὶ οἶνοπι πόντῳ,
καλὴ καὶ πείρα, περίρρυτος· ἐν δ' ἄνθρωποι
πολλοί, ἀπειρέσιοι, καὶ ἐννήκοντα πόλεις.
ἄλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη· ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες, ἐν δὲ Κύδωνες,
Δωριεὲς τε τριχάικες δίοι τε Πελασγοί.*

Homer, *Odyssey* 19, 172-177

This chapter will provide a site by site description of the motifs identified in wall painting, as seen in the database discussed in Chapter Two (**Appendix 1**). Each of the sites included in the database will be presented with the exception of the fresco material from Knossos, including its two associated villas, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes. It is because of the direct control Knossos exercises over the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes that they will be discussed with this palace centre. It is also because of the high volume of fresco material that these three sites will be discussed in Chapter Four.

This chapter will provide a description of those motifs present in the fresco database, in addition to a brief history and description of the sites themselves, in order to better establish the direct context of the fresco material. These sites will be looked at according to the geographic divisions established in Chapter One: West, Central, or

East (**Map 3**).

WEST CRETE

Only one site will be looked at in West Crete. Though this creates a decided bias in the geographic distribution of the sites analysed, it is an unavoidable consequence of the dearth of excavated material from this part of the island.

Chania (Table 2; Plate 1): CH 001 – CH 015

From the excavations conducted by the Greek-Swedish team at Kastelli (Chania) in the 1960s, one life-sized female plaster relief was recovered (CH 001). Stylistically, it has been dated to the LM I period, though its stratigraphy remains uncertain, as it was found at Kastelli in an unstratified deposit containing material dating from the LM I to the LM IIIA (Shaw 1997, 68). Among the excavated materials was one fragment of painted wall plaster which was identified as a textile fragment of a skirt with a scale pattern of tri-curved arches (Shaw 1997, 68; Kaiser 1976, 305).

The later Greek-Swedish excavations at Ayia Aikaterini Square, Kastelli, under the direction of Erik and Birgitta P. Hallager, have yielded fourteen catalogued fragments dating to the Neopalatial period (CH 002 – CH 015). These Neopalatial fragments all come from the Rubbish Area North 16, Pit E (**Fig. 4**), and are all highly fragmentary as well as monochromatic. A few pieces, however, show evidence of brush strokes and string impressions (Hallager and Hallager 2003, 133; Schallin 2003, 196). There is evidence for some abstract material, in the form of wavy lines, but these date to the LM IIIA period only (Hallager and Hallager 2003, 133-134).

The early Middle Minoan (CH 015) plaster from Chania tends to be monochromatic reddish-brown, blue or orange, and is made of hard, almost pure plaster with a highly polished surface (Schallin 2003, 195). Of these monochromatic pieces, CH 002 and CH 010 are wine red, while CH 003-006 and CH 011-013 are blue, while CH 007-008 and CH 015 are reddish-brown, CH 009 is orange and CH 014 is white (Table 2).

CENTRAL CRETE

The sites from Central Crete have been divided according to three distinct geographic areas: the Mesara in the South, the Pediada in the North, and North of the Lasithi Plain to the East of this region.

The Mesara

Phaistos (Plates 1-3): PH 001-021

The palace centre at Phaistos is situated at the eastern edge of a large promontory overlooking the Mesara Valley plain, within sight of Ayia Triadha, the peak sanctuary of Mount Ida and the Bay of Mesara. The promontory itself shows continuous occupation from the EM period to the Hellenistic, with two successive palace centres having been constructed in the Protopalatial and Neopalatial periods, the south-eastern quarter of which was destroyed when that part of the hill fell away in antiquity (La Rosa 1985, 78; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 65-66).

The southwest corner of the palace was first unearthed in 1899 by A. Savignoni. The next year, systematic excavation of the palace site began under the direction of L.

Pernier, of the National School of Archaeology in Rome, which uncovered most of the palace itself by 1909. The initial excavations ended and publication of the site occurred between 1928 and 1932, with excavations resuming in 1950 under the direction of D. Levi in order to procure or more precise timeline for the occupation of the site (La Rosa 1985, 79-87). The western quarter of the First Palace at Phaistos is best preserved in the archaeological record. This area includes the western terraces, a series of adjacent small rooms, and a west court with a theatral area on its northern side and *kouloures*, a series of round pits of unknown function, to the south.

After the destructions at the end of the Protopalatial period, likely due to earthquakes, the Old Palace was covered by a cement surface and built over by the New Palace, which effectively preserved the western quarter of the Old Palace (Immerwahr 1990, 9). In addition to the material from the palace centre itself, fresco material was found in the *Grande Frana* (PH 009), the remnants from the collapsed south-eastern portion of the hill, and from Chalara (PH 011), just to the East of the Palace (Walberg 1986, 67). Material was also collected from a Middle Minoan house on the South slopes of the promontory (Fig. 5).

The majority of the fresco material from Phaistos seems to date to the Old Palace Period. From the total number of fresco fragments catalogued, only five come from Neopalatial contexts (PH 001, 004, 005, 010, and 011). Unfortunately, the dating of some of these is still highly questionable, since much of the material comes from a secondary context representing material from every period of inhabitation of the promontory, including the Hellenistic period (Walberg 1986, 67). Two of the Neopalatial fragments come from the excavations at Phaistos carried out by Pernier (PH 004-005). It has been

suggested that the seat of power shifted from the palace centre at Phaistos to the ‘villa’ at Ayia Triada in the Neopalatial period, which might account for the lack of fresco material here (La Rosa 1997, 79; Shoep 2002, 28). On the other hand, Immerwahr suggests that the lack of fresco material in the Neopalatial period might be a reflection of regional aesthetic or a Knossian monopoly on fresco painters (Immerwahr 1990, 3).

Equally worthy of note is that none of the Protopalatial or Neopalatial fresco material from Phaistos shows any evidence of representational art; it is entirely abstract. In fact, though Levi mentions in the original excavation reports “*una scena figurata*” (Levi 1963, 58), there is no evidence for this elusive figural piece in any of the published plates, nor is there any evidence of it in Pernier’s four published fresco fragments (PH 004-007), which bear abstract motifs including rosettes, spirals and a reticulate pattern. The fragment PH 011 seems to show papyrus fronds, though it is quite poorly preserved (Pernier 1935, PL. XL): this may be the fragment to which Levi refers.

More specifically, the abstract motifs catalogued from Phaistos are as follows (Table 3): those Neopalatial pieces from the MM III house on the south slope, PH 001 and 005 consist of running spirals, horizontal lines, and waves on the former, and foliate band and vertical lines on the latter. For the other Neopalatial fragments, PH 004 consists of a reticulate pattern, mentioned previously, while PH 010, dating to the MM III period, boasts a spiral and circles, and PH 011. A fragment found to the east of the palace at Chalara dates to the MM/LM I period, is the only piece of fresco with representational painting from Phaistos; it is vegetal and consists of floral patterns including papyrus fronds.

The remainder of the fragments from Phaistos are certainly Protopalatial, but they offer some interesting comparanda with the later material from other sites, since there has not yet been published any other Protopalatial material except at Knossos, where the dating is extremely problematic (see Chapter 4). First, PH 002, which comes from the floor of Room LIV, consists of a quatrefoil pattern. The next fragment, PH 003, comes from an unspecified room in the palace, and bears the motif of a meander, reminiscent of the Labyrinth Fresco from Knossos (KN 016). Fragments PH 006 and 007, again from an unspecified location, are generally small and consist of rosettes on the former, and what might be part of a spiral on the latter. From a dump representing periods from Minoan to Roman, comes PH 008, showing a dentate band. From the *Grande Frana* are a series of small fragments catalogued as PH 009, which have concentric circles and dentates.

The remaining fragments (Ph 012-021) all come from unspecified rooms within the Old Palace. The motifs here consist of foliate bands (AB02), horizontal and vertical lines (AB13 and 14), spirals (AB20), spots or dots (AB26), vertical striped bands (AB28), marbling (AB29), and crescents (AB30).

Ayia Triada (Plate 4): AT 003-004

The Minoan villa of Ayia Triada is located only 3 km southeast of the palace centre of Phaistos. Excavations here began in 1902 under the direction of F. Halbherr, also of the Archaeological School in Rome, and continued on until 1914, though proper publication of the site was delayed until 1977, at which time a number of the original excavation reports had been lost or damaged (La Rosa 1985, 109-112).

The villa itself, measuring approximately 85 metres from east to west in the shape of an ‘L’, and seems to have been composed of two distinct buildings, Villas A and B. It seems, based on the architectural evidence, that these two buildings were constructed at different times and were only joined together as one at a later date (La Rosa 1997, 79-80): each ‘villa’ contains ‘palatial’ architectonic features including orthostates, and pier-and-door partitions.

Most importantly, however, are the frescoes of extremely high quality found in Villa A (Fig. 6). The exact function of the villa complex at Ayia Triadha remains uncertain, but it is possible that it functioned within the larger administrative sphere of the palace centre itself, as suggested by Watrous, possibly even replacing the palace’s primary administrative function in the Neopalatial Period (La Rosa 1997, 79; Shoep 2002, 28; Watrous 1984, 123-34). Whatever the function of the building complex, the fresco remains from this site come primarily from Room 14 of Villa A.¹ Here it is the LM IA fresco material from Room 14 that is of primary interest (AT 003-004). Access to Room 14 is restricted to an entrance from Room 13, and the room itself is isolated and secluded, which has led to its possible interpretation as a bedroom (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 117). The relative seclusion of this room and other rooms with painted wall plaster will be discussed at length in Chapter Five.

Two of the major reconstructed fragments have been catalogued, here as the ‘Cat Fresco’ (AT 003) and as the ‘Nature Fresco with Goddess’ (AT 004). Though it is likely that these two large fragments belong to the same fresco composition, they were

¹ Though the most famous fresco scenes at Ayia Triadha undoubtedly come from the Sarcophagus, it dates to the LM III period (Immerwahr 1990, 100-103), and as such, it is much too late for this study; even though the sarcophagus had initially been included in the fresco catalogue as AT 001 and AT 002, they have since been removed from this study.

catalogued separately for the sake of clarity, and to distinguish their provenience from different walls of the room. The Cat Fresco consists of a cat along with nature motifs including vines, particularly ivy, a pheasant, and *agrimia*, or wild goats.² In AT 004, there are, in addition to the human female, crocuses and lilies in the garden, some sort of architectural façade in the background, and a quatrefoil net pattern and repeated, or hooked, spirals on the female figure's dress (Shaw 1997, 71).

Kommos (Plate 5): KO 001-003

The site of Kommos, situated on a natural harbour on the coast of the Mesara, functioned as the port of Phaistos, as well as the main port to the Libyan sea in southern Crete (Mee 1996, 335). Though the site was mentioned by Arthur Evans in 1924, it was not excavated until the 1970s and 1980s, under the direction of Joseph Shaw of the University of Toronto (J. Shaw 2002, 99).

There is evidence of occupation at the site of Kommos from the Final Neolithic period onwards, but it is during the Neopalatial period that Kommos seems to have seen its height in power and prestige, with the site reaching its maximum extent of 150,000 square meters in the LM I period. In the Neopalatial period that there is evidence for both white washed plaster revêtement on the walls and painted wall plaster, particularly in Building T and House X (Shaw 1982, 182; 1984, 268; Blakolmer 2000, 402; Mee 1996, 336). In Building T, there is evidence for unpainted plaster in Room 11 (Shaw 1982, 182), but the painted wall plaster comes from Room 19 (Fig. 7). From this room fresco material was recovered showing wide bands in black, blue, red and white, approximately thirty centimetres in height. These fragments were catalogued as one

² Which are not visible in the image collected of AT 003.

piece, KO 001. Thus far, less than two meters of the overall frieze have been recovered, of which no evidence for figural representation yet exists, though in the LM I period, bands do typically tend to serve as framework for pictorial paintings (Shaw and Shaw 1984, 268), as seen at Amnissos (AM 001). Another fragment from Building T consists of some rocky terrain, possibly a part of a landscape fresco (KO 003).

The painted wall plaster from House X, KO 002, comes from room X1 in a layer dated to the LM IB period (Fig. 8). It is composed of white lilies, polychromatic rocks and a deep ochre background (Shaw and Shaw 1993, 155).

The Pediada

Amnissos (Plate 5): AM 001-003

The site of Amnissos is located to the East of the modern town of Heraklion, and just as Kommos acted as the port of Phaistos, Amnissos may have acted as the port of Knossos, though the natural harbour at Katsamba likely also functioned in this manner (see ‘Katsamba’ below). It was originally excavated by Spyridon Marinatos in 1932, at which time the ‘House of the Lilies’, named after its eponymous fresco, was uncovered. Overall, the villa, which is significantly smaller than the building complexes at Kommos and Ayia Triada, had approximately ten rooms and two storeys and it appears to have first been constructed in the MM IIIB or LM IA period (Schäfer 1997, 186). The famous garden scenes from Amnissos come from three walls of Room 7.

At Amnissos, there are currently three wall paintings catalogued (AM 001-003). These include the Lily Fresco, or ‘Lilienfresko’ (AM 001), the “Mint” and Iris Fresco, or ‘Minzenfresko’ (AM 002) and the Dado with Offering Tables Fresco (AM 003). All

three of these frescoes are vegetal in category, and have been dated to the MM IIIB period (Schäfer 1992, 220-221). The motifs present on AM 001 consist of its eponymous lily flower, as well as horizontal and vertical banding forming a box-like frame around the lily itself. On AM 002, there is a floral pattern, and on AM 003 there are vine leaves, Crocus flowers, vertical bands and circles. All three of these frescoes were found in Room 7 and were likely part of a continuous garden scene. On the North wall was AM 001, while AM 002 appeared in the west wall and AM 003 on the South wall.

Archanes (Plates 5-8): AR 001-017

The site of Archanes, which is predominantly covered by the modern city of the same name, shows traces of occupation from the Final Neolithic period to the present day, with more than eighty-four individual archaeological sites located within the boundaries of the modern town (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 63). Three major areas make up the site of Archanes: the cemetery at Phourni, Anemospilia and the ‘Palace Building’ at Tourkoyeitionia (**Fig. 9**).³ Though it was originally Arthur Evans who took an interest in the site of Archanes, much of his work remains unknown and unpublished. He did, however, excavate at Tourkoyeitionia in 1922, which he called a ‘Summer Palace’ for the kings at Knossos (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 54-55). In 1964, Yannis Sakellarakis took over the excavations, and found Evans’ claims regarding a ‘Summer Palace’ to be something of an exaggeration on account of its relative size and wealth in

³ Though the fresco fragments collected come predominantly from Tourkoyeitionia, I have categorised the site of Archanes as a ‘settlement’ rather than a ‘villa’, despite the ‘palace building’. Though this is still controversial, generally, ‘villas’ are understood within the context of this study as being ‘rural’ rather than ‘urban’, with the exceptions of the House of the Frescoes and the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos. These distinctions will be further discussed and clarified in Chapter Five.

comparison to more definitive ‘palaces’, though the site’s importance to Minoan archaeology was in no way diminished (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis, 1997, 55-58).

At Phourni, the plaster material has been excavated in Areas 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8 and the North-east corner of Building Four, most likely having fallen from the upper story. In addition, larger pieces of fresco material have been found in the Pillar Room, in Area 7, and the South Corridor of Tholos Tomb B (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 491). These plaster pieces, however, are unpainted, and have subsequently not been catalogued for this study. The same holds true for those few painted plaster remains from Anemospilia, which are generally white, though three red monochromatic fragments were excavated from the western part of the antechamber (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 491).

It is from the ‘palace-building’ at Tourkoyeitionia that the greatest number and variety of fresco fragments were found, including human figures and plaster relief. These fragments were found in a fairly certain stratigraphic layer dating the fragments to the LM IA period. Fragments have been excavated in Areas 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 17a, 18, 19, 24, and 25 (Fig. 10). They are generally monochromatic red, white, pink, orange, green, blue or yellow (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 492). All of the catalogued fragments come from Area 19, however, and they appear to have fallen from an upper storey. Human figures are found in Area 2 and possibly in Area 19.⁴ One such example comes from the East wall of Area 19, representing the brown outline of a female figure (AR 014). In many respects, this wall painting resembles a preliminary sketch (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 494).

⁴ The fragment of human fresco from Area 2 has not been included because it was only mentioned tangentially by Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis. No published information is currently available.

Fourteen fragments of flat painted plaster were catalogued from Archanes (AR 001-014), along with three fragments of painted plaster relief (AR 015-017) all from the palace building in Area 19 (Table 4). All of these fragments have been dated to the LM IA period, thus placing them near the very end of the Neopalatial period. There appears to be a much wider variety of motifs here than at Amnisos, including motifs in the vegetal, abstract, human, animal and marine categories. There are also a variety of colours and scene types, including some Miniature fresco fragments.

Fragments AR 001 and 002 preserve a tree and a floral motif, respectively. On AR 003 there appear some leaves. Fragment AR 004 is abstract in nature and depicts some spots or dots, which may or may not represent a necklace. As such, it has tentatively been categorised as human. Fragment AR 005 shows trees, leaves and some abstract hatching, while AR 006 only shows evidence of a tree. AR 007 once again is demonstrably abstract, showing spots or dots. Fragment AR 008 shows an animal motif of the collection, representing a bird, with AR 009 showing a marine motif, that of a fish, possibly a dolphin, though the piece is too fragmentary to identify with any certainty. For the fragments AR 010-013, we see vegetal motifs, this time in the form of trees, crocus flowers, grasses, and unidentified floral motifs, respectively.

The plaster reliefs are of especially high quality: the three catalogued pieces show a standing bird (AR 017), ivy leaves (AR 016) and seashells (AR 015). The excavators feel that the plaster relief likely came from a frieze, but due to the poor preservation, it is difficult to give any precise context for these particular pieces (Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, 501-502).

Galatas (Plate 9): GA 001- 003

Excavations at the site of Galatas first began in 1992, under the direction of Giorgos Rethemiotakis, with work continuing to the present day (Rethemiotakis 2002, 55). Located beneath the modern settlement of Kastelli in the Pediada, the site of Galatas is especially interesting for this study since it appears to have been constructed very suddenly in the seventeenth century BCE, and by Knossian architects. Thus, the palace at Galatas represents a palace centre, imposed by Knossos, rather than one that developed indigenously, as seen elsewhere in Crete (Rethemiotakis 2002, 56-57).

The fresco material from this site is from the vegetal category and generally in the Miniature Style. Of the three fragments catalogued, GA 001 was recovered from the ‘Pillar Hall’, from a secure MM IIIA context, which, according to the excavator, makes it the “earliest, securely dated, piece of the evidence on the development of pictorial wall-paintings at Crete” (Rethemiotakis 2002, 57). Among those fragments dating to the MM IIIB – LM IA period, GA 002 and GA 003 consist of both abstract and vegetal motifs, including a red lozenge pattern (GA 002) and blue leaves (GA 003), and were recovered from Building 1 (Fig. 11).

Katsamba (Plate 10): KA 001

Katsamba was the harbour town of Knossos during the Neopalatial period, and it was excavated by Alexiou in the late 1950s and 1960s. The name of the site itself is ‘Anemomylia’, and unfortunately the building here was only partially excavated, since sections of it are under modern houses. The destruction of the building itself has been dated to the early LM IB period (Shaw, M. 1978, 27).

The three fresco fragments recovered from a MM III-LM I house at Katsamba all joined and were catalogued collectively as KA 001. These fragments are of the Miniature Style and Maria Shaw believes that they likely represent textile patterns from the belt of a slightly less than life-sized human figure, probably female. The fresco fragments themselves show a frieze of birds, approximately 3.2 cm in height bordered on both the top and bottom by a black band, approximately 1.1 cm in height. In addition to the birds, a scale pattern has been identified by Shaw; it is this scale pattern that convinces her that this piece belongs to a textile pattern, and also has a MM III date, since there is evidence for the scale pattern on Minoan costumes from this time (M. Shaw 1978, 27-32).⁵ In conjunction with the LM IB destruction of the site, it is safe to call these joining fragments Neopalatial.

Nirou Khani (Plate 10): NK 001

The complex at Nirou Khani was first excavated by Xanthodides in 1918-19, and it is part of the larger settlement 1 km to the east of Ayia Theodoroi (Xanthodides 1922, 63-69; J. Shaw 1990, 486). Though the exact function of the villa at Nirou Khani is not yet known, inscribed pottery and a trident mason's mark seem to indicate both its construction in the MM I period, and its participation in trade and commerce. At any rate, the villa at Nirou Khani seems to have been abandoned in the LM IB/LM II period. Inscribed pottery found in the villa verifies its construction and participation in trade during the MM I period (Xanthodides 1922, 63-69).

At Nirou Khani, only one fresco piece was found and catalogued, and it consists of a Sacral Knot, recovered from Room 17 of the Villa (**Fig. 12**). This piece was first

⁵ Such a pattern can be seen on the skirt from one of the 'Ladies in Blue' (KN 044) from Knossos.

published in 1922 and it also appears in Evans' *Palace of Minos* (1964).

Tylissos (Plate 10-11): TY 001-004

The site of Tylissos is located among the northeast foothills of Mt. Ida and lies approximately twelve kilometres from Knossos. The site itself was first excavated by Joseph Hazzidakis in 1909 under the auspices of L'École Française d'Athènes and is composed of a number of 'houses'. Much of what remains belongs to the LM I and II periods, though there is evidence of earlier constructions from the Early and Middle Minoan periods (Hazzidakis 1921, 7-10).

The initial excavations revealed only a few small fragments of painted wall plaster from House A, four of which were catalogued (**Fig. 13**). Among these fragments there is evidence for human figures, both male and female. The other remaining fragment has not been identified, but it carries an abstract pattern and has been interpreted as some type of papyrus fan used by a boy whom Hazzidakis calls a slave (Hazzidakis 1921, 63). The female figures appear to wear different lengths of dresses, which the excavator interprets as representation of a difference in age for female characters (Hazzidakis 1921, 62). More specifically, TY 001 consists of what looks like fan, or a 'triple palm', which, though it has been largely reconstructed, preserves both the shape of a palm, and the hounds tooth, or dentillate pattern on it. The second series of fragments, TY 002, consists of pieces from a Miniature Style fresco (Immerwahr 1990, 184). Maria Shaw reconstructs these fragments to depict what appears to be a group of warriors, complete with spears. Fragment TY 003 preserves textile fragments from the dresses of three women (Hazzidakis 1921, 63). Among the motifs present are a band

with spots or dots, and a band with chevrons. The final set of fragments, TY 004, consists of a Miniature battle scene consisting of a number of male figures in military regalia.

Prasa (Plate 11): PR 001-002

The site of Prasa is located some 15 km to the north-east of Knossos. It was first excavated and published in the 1950s by Nikolas Platon, the excavator of Zakros. A small fragment of Miniature Style fresco depicting seven cypress trees over a light background (PR 001) comes from House A at Prasa. The fragment itself appears to be in relief in the pictorial zone (Cameron 1976, 20).

Mallia (Plate 12): MA 001-006

Though the region surrounding the site of Mallia could be placed in either Central or East Crete, the topography of the areas allows for an easier access to the site from the direction of Knossos than it does from the Bay of Mirabello. It is for this reason that the Lasithi Plateau, and as such, the palace centre at Mallia will be included in the study of Central Crete, rather than East Crete.

Mallia is located some forty-eight kilometres from the modern city of Heraklion, on a large fertile plain near the sea. The palace site of Mallia was initially excavated by Greek Archaeologist, Joseph Hazzidakis in 1915, who also excavated the villa at Tylissos. The palace at Mallia was the third palace to be discovered on Crete after Knossos and Phaistos, and it is also the third largest, measuring around eight thousand square meters. Eventually, due to a lack of funding, the site was turned over to L'École

Française d'Athènes in the 1920s, at which time Fernand Chapouthier took over as the director (Chapouthier and Joly 1936, 2-10). In addition to the palace site itself, there are a number of *Quartiers* in the general vicinity, including Quartier Nu (Fig. 14), from which a fragment depicting a white human face was collected (MA 006), along with another fragment with a papyrus (MA 005).

Though there was a palace centre at Mallia in the Protopalatial period, there are no extant remains, and it was built over by the New Palace around 1700 BCE. Like all of the other palace centres on the island, except Knossos, it too was destroyed around 1450 BCE, at the end of the LM I period (Immerwahr 1990, 79).

Among the other fresco finds at Mallia, very little has been published.⁶ At Mallia, two fresco fragments (MA 004) were found *in situ* in House E. According to the excavators, the pattern found in the lower part, what he calls a “*fuseaux et perles alternés*” pattern has not been found at any other Minoan site, and they believe it may represent a necklace (Dessenne and Deshayes 1959, 139). In the upper portion of this same fresco are a number of rosettes. These rosettes are highly stylized and function strictly as abstract motifs. There does not appear to be any kind of narrative sense in this fresco.

At the palace centre itself, there are three catalogued fresco fragments (MA 001-003) which are predominantly abstract in nature as they consist of banding and some non-figurative stucco (Fig. 15). Though there are some possible human figures in MA 001, their identification remains uncertain (Immerwahr 1990, 181).

⁶ Purportedly, much was thrown out by the French excavators during the earlier years of excavation.

EAST CRETE

The topography of East Crete is the most diverse of the three geographic zones; it contains sites on the coast of the Mirabello Bay, in the hills of Siteia and Zakros, and on the plains of the Ierapetra Isthmus. As was seen in Central Crete, fresco material comes from a number of different site types including both the palace centre at Zakros, which includes the villa at Epano Zakro, as well as town sites, such as Palaikastro and Pseira. As seen in Chapter One, it is also in East Crete that we find the earliest evidence for painted wall plaster on the island at Vasilike and Myrtos Phournou-Koriphi.

Pseira (Plates 12-13): PS 001-012

The frescoes from Pseira were found in ‘Building AC’ during the excavations conducted in 1907 under the direction of Richard Seager and were subsequently restored as two seated ladies, likely by Halvor Baggs, the artist employed by Harriet Boyd Hawes at Gournia (Shaw 1998, 55-56). These two seated ladies are commonly referred to as Panel A and Panel B and all of their associated pieces have been catalogued as PS 001 and PS 002, respectively. Since their initial restoration, their form has been called into question by scholars (see Shaw 1998, 55), and new restorations have been put forward. In this study, the fragments have been catalogued according to the current reconstructions in the Heraklion Museum (**Fig. 16**).

The exact function of Building AC is still in dispute, but according to Seager, the building was a “small but well built house” (Seager 1910, 11, 15; cited in Shaw 1998, 65). The fragments themselves were found in an unstratified location which Seager labelled ‘Space AC 6’, which may have functioned as a shrine (**Fig. 17**). Despite the lack

of stratigraphic context, the fragments have been dated stylistically to the LM IA period, though they could be very early LM IB.⁷

In addition to the fresco fragments included in Panels A and B, a number of previously unpublished fragments from Pseira have also been catalogued (PS 003-012).⁸ Among these fragments are more pieces representing feet and possibly parts of stones.

From the fragments catalogued as PS 001 and PS 002, a number of motifs are present in the textile patterns of the dresses. These motifs include rosettes, antithetical semicircles, zig zags, running spirals, quadruple spirals, dots, hooked spirals, ivy leaves, bands and lines. The colours found on these fragments include yellow, red, white, blue, and reddish yellow (Shaw 1998, 63-64).

Palaikastro (Plate 14): PK 001-005

The town site of Palaikastro was originally excavated from 1902 to 1906 under the direction of R.C. Bosanquet and R.M. Dawkins with the British School at Athens (Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, 2). Though no palace centre has yet been found at Palaikastro, the town site has yielded a number of important finds including the ‘Palaikastro *Kouros*’, bronze objects and clay tablets bearing Linear A inscriptions (Bosanquet 1902, 286-302).

At Palaikastro there is evidence for the human figure in plaster relief, similar to the finds at Pseira. At Palaikastro, however, only the lower portion of one white arm is preserved, its colour might indicate that it belonged to a female (PK 002). It was found in Room 18, Block E (Bosanquet and Dawkins 1923, 148) (**Fig. 18**). In addition to this

⁷ For a more detailed analysis of the dating of these fragments, see Shaw 1998, 65-72.

⁸ These pieces were published for the first time by Maria Shaw in 1998.

single piece of relief plaster were also found a number of fresco fragments with crocuses, also found in Room 18 of Block E; these crocus fragments are not numbered in the original publication they have been collectively catalogued as PK 001. As at Pseira, the building in which the fresco material was found was small and simple, and Shaw posits that its function might have been the same as Building AC (M. Shaw 1997, 68).

In later excavations at Palaikastro, more fresco fragments were unearthed in Building 6 (**Fig. 19**). Three fragments have been collected from this building (PK 003-005), and they consist of vegetal motifs, a griffin, and the abstract motif of marbling (Chapin 2002, folio figures 3; 5; 12-14).

Zakros (including Kato Zakros and Epano Zakros) (Plate 14): ZA 001-006

The fourth largest palace centre on Crete was found at Kato Zakros, the site of an important trading centre before 1700 BCE. The position of Zakros as a trading centre to the east is not at all surprising given its proximity to Egypt and the Near East, and in particular, to Rhodes. The natural harbour at Kato Zakros further facilitated its importance in trade with the East (Platon 1971, 34-35; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 106-108).

Excavations were first conducted at Kato Zakros under the direction of D.G. Hogarth in 1902. Hogarth uncovered a number of buildings on the slopes of the northeast and southwest hills, effectively uncovering the first Minoan harbour town, though the palace itself remained undiscovered until 1961 under the direction of Nikolas Platon (Platon 1971, 24-26).

The earliest evidence for this ‘regional’ palace does not appear until the LM IA period, at which time it is possible that Zakros was controlling most of eastern Crete. It has been suggested by the archaeological evidence that a palace existed here in the Protopalatial period, but no extant remains have been found. Much as at Mallia, only the remains of the second palace have been excavated and published in any detail (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 107). The Neopalatial palace centre at Zakros had approximately the same dimensions as the palace at Mallia, measuring around six thousand square meters (N. Platon 1971, 74). After the LM IA destruction of the palace, there is evidence that the palace built in the LM IB period was being controlled by Knossos, though it was destroyed by fire at the end of the LM IB period (L. Platon 2002, 145).⁹

The fresco remains from Kato Zakros are for the most part unremarkable and few in number (**Fig. 20**). The only remarkable fragment from the palace centre consists of a stucco relief of a running spiral from the Banquet Hall (ZA 001), which has been compared to the running spiral ceiling from the Queen’s Megaron at Knossos (see Chapter 4). Aside from this one impressive example of relief plaster, the other fresco remains consist of unspecified abstract motifs (ZA 002), which have not yet been published, and an example of horns of consecration (ZA 003) found *in situ* in a lustral basin of the domestic quarter. No evidence for human figure in fresco has yet been unearthed at this site.

The final three catalogued fresco fragments, ZA 004-006, come from the villa at Epano Zakros; they are mentioned by Nikolas Platon (1971, 71), but were not fully published until 2002 by his son, Lefteris Platon (L. Platon 2002, 44-48). These three

⁹ Such evidence comes in the form of “the obvious Knossian character of many finds belonging to the next LM IB horizon [at] Zakros” (Platon 2002, 145).

fragments consist primarily of vegetal motifs, including a reedy landscape and lily-papyrus hybrid flowers.

Preliminary Observations

Though there is an imbalance between the number of fragments available from site to site, some preliminary observations can be made on a regional level based on the major geographic areas represented above. The distribution of motifs can be seen most easily in Table 6. It can readily be seen on the table that abstract and vegetal motifs are the predominant motifs present throughout Crete. The range of abstract motifs seen is generally restricted to the use of horizontal and vertical lines, often as borders, spirals, and a variety of spots or dots, with the widest range of motifs coming from the Old Palace at Phaistos. Overall, abstract motifs have been identified at all but four of the sites included in the catalogue: Chania, Nirou Khani, Tylissos and Gournia.

Vegetal motifs also find representation at a number of sites, though they are fewer in number than abstract motifs. Here, vegetal motifs appear at seven sites, just under half of the total number of sites discussed in this chapter. Of the eight possible vegetal motifs, only ferns do not make an appearance. The most frequently seen of this category include floral motifs and leaves, often ivy. It is worthy of note that vegetal motifs are entirely absent from West Crete, and only occur in one example from Palaikastro in East Crete. Thus, the presence of vegetal motifs might be seen as a predominantly Central Cretan preference.

Human figures, though dominant in Central Crete, also make an appearance at Chania, Palaikastro, Pseira and possibly Mallia. Though generally considered to be

indicative of palatial authority (Immerwahr 1990, 3), the presence of human figures in non-palatial contexts in East and West Crete is interesting, since it would contradict this assumption entirely.

Animal and marine motifs, like vegetal motifs, do not appear outside of Central Crete, with the exception of a griffin from Palaikastro. Even within Central Crete these motifs appear to be restricted only to the villas at Ayia Triada, Archanes and Katsamba, and they do not appear at all at the palace centres of Phaistos or Mallia.

The appearance of motifs under the category of objects is even more restricted, only appearing at two sites overall: Nirou Khani and Kato Zakro. In each instance, it is the only example of its kind collected in the database. As such, it is difficult to draw and real conclusions based on this distribution, though some parallels to Knossos are visible, which will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

In addition to the overall distribution of motifs, it can be observed that plaster relief is used in all three geographic areas, specifically at the sites of Chania, Archanes, Mallia, Pseira, Palaikastro and Zakros. Though there is a tendency to consider plaster relief as a strictly palatial art form, as with human figures, the findings here would indicate its usage not only in palace centres, but also in villas and settlements, as is the case at Archanes, Chania and Palaikastro.

Thus, without looking to Knossos for answers, it is possible already to distinguish some regional preferences in the appearance of absence of specific motif genres, as well as the motifs themselves. In conjunction with the material from Knossos, it may be possible to draw further conclusions regarding the presence of itinerant artists and their

relative degree of independence from this palace centre. These conclusions and observations will be discussed at length in Chapters Five and Six.

Chapter Four

Knossos and its Houses

The so-called 'Palace of Minos' [at] Knossos, is the site of not one but many palaces: Minoan, Mycenaean, and British; or 'Other', Greek, and Modern; designed, destroyed and reinvented. It has been said that the Minoan civilisation was created in the twentieth century by Sir Arthur Evans who left us with just one Knossos: a concrete futuristic vision of a timeless legendary past constructed in a Victorian present.

Hitchcock and Koudounaris 2002, 40

The site of Knossos is both one of the most complex and poorly understood of the Minoan sites on Crete; it is also the site with the greatest number of preserved frescoes. In addition to the eighty-five catalogued fresco fragments from the palace complex itself, there are also thirty-nine catalogued fragments from the Unexplored Mansion, located just west of the Little Palace, and another five from the House of the Frescoes, to the south of the main palatial complex (**Fig. 22**). Altogether, the palace at Knossos and two of its associated townhouses make up 55.2% of the overall fresco material currently catalogued from all the sites on Crete that are included in this study.

The palace at Knossos not only has the highest overall percentage of fresco material on Crete, but it also has the most extensive program of wall paintings, with a broad range of subjects and motifs. These include a number of human figures in the forms

of relief, processions, and miniatures (Morgan 2005, 28). It is this predominance of form and number in the painted plaster at Knossos that has led to a Knossocentric view of Minoan Crete. Does predominance necessarily mean control? Though this question will be the focus of the following chapter, it does have some bearing here. The exact role of Knossos on the island, both politically and economically, is still highly debated among scholars; consequently, so is its role in the diffusion of the arts.

The foremost issue plaguing our understanding of this extensive site is that of chronology. The area of Knossos has been inhabited almost continuously from the Neolithic Period to Roman times and due to poor stratigraphical records, even the Minoan phases are difficult to understand (Hood 2005, 45-52). With the exception of the material found *in situ*, the preservation is highly fragmented and our ideas today of this material have been highly influenced by the dramatic reconstructions of Gilliérons Père and Fils, under the supervision of Arthur Evans.¹

It is due to the early, and at times incorrect, reconstructions of the fresco material from the palace at Knossos that the current form of the material should be approached cautiously (Walberg 1986, 58). For instance, the ‘Ladies in Blue’ (KN 044) is, in the words of Morgan (2005), “more *fin-de-siècle* than it is Minoan” (23). The Prince of the Lilies is more likely reconstructed from three separate figures rather than just one (Shaw 2004, 65-84), and the Saffron Gatherer had originally been reconstructed as a boy, rather than a monkey (Morgan 2005, 23). It is because errors of this sort that a strictly quantitative analysis is useful here. The material in this chapter will be described as much as possible based strictly on the fragments themselves, rather than the

¹ These reconstructions were used extensively through Evans’ *Palace of Minos* as well as in the *Knossos Fresco Atlas*.

reconstructions.²

Beyond reconstructive errors are the chronological difficulties presented by the site itself. The palatial complex at Knossos does not have the same distinct destruction phases as seen elsewhere. There are distinct destruction layers at all sites on Crete in LM I. As discussed in Chapter Three, the villa of Ayia Triadha, House A at Tylissos, the villa at Amnisos and Building AC at Pseira were all destroyed by fire at the end of the LM IB period; contemporary destruction layers are also present at the palaces at Gournia, Zakros, and Phaistos and in the town of Palaikastro (Immerwahr 1990, 78). There is no evidence, however, for devastation of the same sort at Knossos; the palace continued to be used well into the LM II-III period. Because of this continuous occupation, undisturbed Neopalatial contexts are much rarer at Knossos than at other sites on the island. It is not readily possible to understand the palace at Knossos as either the ‘Old Palace’ or the ‘New Palace’, but rather it is often seen as a “single building with a long, complicated history of repair, renovation and rebuilding, some of it large scale, some of it minor” (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999, 92).

As such, there is as little distinction between the Protopalatial material and the Neopalatial material as there is between the Neopalatial and the Final Palatial phases at Knossos. It was originally thought that there had been a major destruction at the palace in the LM II period: that date has now been placed much later, in LM IIIA2 (Hood 2005, 45). It is this destruction, near the beginning of the Postpalatial period, which acts as the only definitive *terminus ante quem* for the wall paintings at Knossos, thus creating a far greater expanse of time in which to date the frescoes (Immerwahr 1990, 84-85).

² Though this is not always possible. Some of the material has only been published in the form of a series of watercolours in the *Knossos Fresco Atlas*.

Furthermore, as has been discussed in previous chapters, it is often difficult to know how long a fresco remained in place on a given wall prior to its destruction (Walberg 1986, 57). As such, much of the painted plaster material from the transitional LM IA-IB period cannot be definitively shown as either distinctly LM IA or LM II. Those wall paintings that remained *in situ* until Evans' excavation have generally been dated to between LM II and LM IIIA; these include but are not limited to the feet of the figures from the Corridor of Processions, the griffins from the Throne Room and the bull from the anteroom of the Throne Room (Immerwahr 1990, 84).³

When fresco fragments are not found *in situ*, however, as is often the case, stratigraphic context and stylistic dating are often at odds with each other. Some stylistically early fragments were found in late contexts, likely having fallen from upper rooms. Others were thrown into unstratified 'fresco heaps' due to redecoration or damage: the largest of these dumps is the North-West Fresco Heap to the North of the Central Court: many of these fragments appear to be stylistically early, such as the 'Grandstand' and 'Sacred Grove' frescoes (KN 047 and KN 078). In other instances, the frescoes appear to be stylistically late, but are contextually earlier. Such is the case for the 'Palanquin Fresco' (KN 055): though it was found beneath an LM III floor level, stylistically it dates to the LM I period (Immerwahr 1990, 84).

For these reasons, I have chosen to include in my catalogue the fresco material that has been dated to either the end of the Neopalatial Period or the beginning of the Final Palatial Period. Thus, fresco material that can be arguably placed in either the LM IA/B period or LM II periods is considered as Neopalatial. These two examples consist of the 'Leaping Girl' and 'Male Taureador' (KN 053 and KN 054) from the Court of the

³ As these pieces have not been included in the catalogue, they do not have catalogue numbers.

Stone Spout. Material that definitively belongs to either the Final or Postpalatial phases has been excluded from this study.⁴

Though many of the frescoes from Knossos still remain questionably dated, I will be following the dates provided by Sinclair Hood (2005, 56-79) as they reflect the most current evidence for those dates based on the works of Evans, Cameron, Kaiser and Immerwahr.

It is the purpose of this chapter, much as in the previous, to present the motifs as they appear on the painted plaster remains of Knossos and its two associated town houses, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes. Tables will be used in order to clarify the presentation of the raw data and can be found under ‘Tables’ along with the plates and figures.

The Palatial Complex – Knossos (Plates 15-30): KN 001-085

The palace at Knossos is an extremely complex site, both stratigraphically as well as architecturally. With over one hundred rooms, not counting the unpreserved second and third storeys, understanding this building, as well as its fresco material, is a daunting task. To begin, I will first assess the Protopalatial material from the site. It cannot be emphasised enough, however, that much of this material is ambiguously dated and is sometimes assigned a Neopalatial date. For the sake of simplicity, and following the dates of Hood (2005), I will ascribe all MM IIIA material to the Protopalatial Period since it is likely that these paintings had already been on the walls from some time prior to their destruction.

⁴ Though in the initial cataloguing process, four Postpalatial pieces were originally included: KN 005-008, and KN 058. These have since been deleted from the catalogue.

In the case of the Neopalatial material, any fresco ambiguously cited as LM IA/II will be considered as Neopalatial rather than Final Palatial. Because the greatest number of samples come from this period, they will be discussed according to their general find spot. As such, I have chosen to divide the palace into four major areas (**Fig. 22**): the rooms to the North of the Central Court, which include the Early Keep Area, the North-West Fresco Heap, the North West Portico and the North Entrance Passage Material from the area to the West of the Central Court will be discussed; this area includes the Hall of the Double Axes, the Queen's Megaron and its 'bathroom', the East Hall, the Royal Magazine, the Ivory Deposit, and the Loomweight Basement. Subsequently, material from South of the Central Court, which includes both the South House and the South-East House, the Corridor of the Procession, the Lapidary Workshop and the Room of the Clay Signet, will be assessed. After this, it will be those rooms to the West of the Central Court, including the West Court, the Magazines, and the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco which will be examined. Finally, material from other locations or unknown proveniences will be assessed. Following the discussion of the Neopalatial material, a very brief presentation of the Final Palatial material that I have chosen to include, for reasons discussed previously, will be conducted.

For the Protopalatial period, a small number of fresco fragments have been catalogued. Of the eighty-five catalogued samples, only six have been dated to the Protopalatial, and of these six, four are abstract; this is a remarkably small number, especially when we compare Knossos to the palace centre at Phaistos, from which sixteen of the twenty-two fresco fragments were Protopalatial in date.

The earliest fragment, which can be unarguably attributed to the MM II phase of the Protopalatial period, comes from the Loomweight Basement (KN 001). It consists of a dado with curving or crescent shaped bands. A second Protopalatial piece, from the later MM IIIA phase, consists of a stucco relief of a bull's foot (KN 081). The remaining Protopalatial fragments are highly diverse with respect to both their subject matter and their find spots. From below the floor of the Magazine of the Medallion Pithoi comes a spiral fragment (KN 082); the Sponge Imprint Fresco (KN 002) comes from the North-West Portico; the Labyrinth Fresco (KN 016) was uncovered to the East of the Hall of the Double Axes; and a fragment showing a lily spray (KN 075) was found in the South-East House. Of these four fragments, KN 002 and KN 075 date to the transitional MM IIIA/IIIB phase.

The Neopalatial Material: Table 7

North of the Central Court

The catalogued material from this zone comes predominantly from the North-West Fresco Heap, an unstratified dump, likely created during a MM IIIB/LM IA redecoration of the palace. As such, the majority of the material has been dated to the MM IIIB/LM IA phase. A total of sixteen catalogued samples were recovered from this fresco dump: KN 009-010, KN 014, KNs 021-025, KN 047, KN 050, KN 052, KN 057, KN 062, KN 072-073, and KN 078. As with the fresco material from Knossos in general, the North-West Fresco Heap demonstrates a wide variety of subjects, including six of the eight motif categories: Human, Animal, Textile, Architectural, Abstract and Object. In

addition, there is the presence of both Miniature Style (KN 047, 057, 062, 073, and 078) and Stucco Relief (KN 021).

More specifically, within the category of ‘Objects’, bucrania appear on two fragments (KN 009 and KN 062), rocks only appear on KN 009, and flutes appear only on KN 010. Under the heading of ‘Animal’, birds (KN 052), griffins (KN 022) and sphinxes (KN 023 and KN 024) make an appearance. With respect to the ‘Vegetal’ motifs, trees appear on the miniature frescoes (KN 078), leaves are found on KN 050, and lilies are present as a textile pattern on KN 072. Human figures, both male and female, as well as architectural motifs, appear most frequently in the Miniature Style frescoes. Otherwise, human figures are attested primarily as textile patterns, which include a number of abstract motifs, as well as some of the animal motifs listed above. The abstract motifs present in the North-West Fresco Heap consist of horizontal bands or lines, rosettes, chevrons, diagonal bands or lines, vertical striped bands, and running spirals.

As for the remaining six fragments from the northern area, KN 003, 015, 041 and 064 come from the Early Keep Area; KN 038 and KN 077 come from the North Entrance Passage. The motifs from the Early Keep Area include a monkey, saffron flowers, both plain spirals and running spirals, and rosettes. From the North Entrance Passage there is a bull and leaves; here, the leaves can be identified as an olive shoot.

East of the Central Court:

Fresco material from the rooms to the East of the Central Court comes from a wide variety of find spots: the Queen's Megaron, the East Hall, the Royal Magazine, the Court of the Stone Spout, the Hall of the Double Axes, the Ivory Deposit, and the

Loomweight Basement. In total, sixteen samples were catalogued from the eastern area of the palace that date to the Neopalatial period. They come from the Ivory Deposit (KN 004, 063, 068), the Hall of the Double Axes (KN 029 and KN 037), the Loomweight Basement (KN 013), areas in or around the Queen's Megaron (KN 018, 035, 065, 079), the East Hall (KN 039 and KN 040), the Royal Magazine (KN 044), the Miniature Deposit (KN 066 and KN 067), and the Service Staircase (KN 080). This area represents the highest occurrences of stucco relief of the entire palatial complex: in total, five of the nine pieces of stucco relief, KN 034, 039, 040, 080, and 081, including one Protopalatial piece (KN 081), already discussed above.

The motifs here, as in the northern area, are varied. They include, under the heading of 'Abstract', spirals, running spirals, relief spirals, antithetical spirals, vertical striped bandings, foliate bands, chevrons, checkerboard patterns, zigzag patterns, and horizontal lines or bands. In addition to these abstract motifs, many of which appear on representations of textile patterns, there is also an ivy scroll pattern. Both male and female figures appear, both in Miniature Style, as well as in life-sized frescoes. The 'Vegetal' motifs include papyrus flowers and stalks and lilies. Under the headings of 'Animals' and 'Marine' there are bulls and griffins in relief, as well as dolphins and other fish. Finally, with respect to the category of 'Objects', there are double axes and 'Horns of Consecration'.

South of the Central Court:

Only seven painted plaster fragments were recovered from areas to the south of the Central Court that date to the Neopalatial period. These come from an earlier stratum

of the Corridor of the Procession (KN 046), the Lapidary Workshop (KN 059), the Room of the Clay Signet (KN 055 and KN 083), a North-South Corridor (KN 034) and the South House (KN 042).

The motifs found in this area include human males and females, executed in relief as well as flat; lilies, flowers, and grasses; a bull and birds; chevrons and spots or dots; and finally, bucrania and part of a chariot.

West of the Central Court:

Five samples of painted plaster were catalogued from the area to the West of the Central Court. The most famous frescoes from this area undoubtedly come from the Throne Room, but they are Postpalatial in date, and as such, have not been included in this study. Fresco material from this area comes from Magazine XIII (KN 011 and KN 019), the Gallery of the Jewel Fresco (KN 058 and KN 060), and from the area near the West outside wall of the palace (KN 058).

The motifs consist of both males and females, rosettes, herringbone pattern, waves, olive sprays and other leaves, double axes, 'Horns of Consecration', and an intricate starburst pattern.

Frescoes from other locations or of unknown provenience:

A number of painted plaster samples included for study in the catalogue do not come from within the palace complex itself, but rather, from other nearby buildings directly associated with it. These other structures consist of the South-East House (KN 043), which lies just south of the East wing of the palace, the Caravanserai (KN 036), a

few hundred meters to the South and across the ravine, and the House of the High Priest (KN 020), approximately three hundred meters South of the Caravanserai. One sample was also catalogued having come from the excavations of the Stratigraphic Museum (KN 017), and another from an ambiguous location (KN 049), which is referred to in the *Knossos Fresco Atlas* as a chamber North-East of the excavated area (Evans 1967, 22).

Of these five samples, the LM IB ‘Partridge and Hoopoe’ frieze (KN 036) from the Caravanserai is by far the most complete. This frieze originally ran along the tops of three walls of a room, approximately twenty-eight centimetres in height (Immerwahr 1990, 78-79). Along with the eponymous partridges and hoopoes, rocks and vegetation, including myrtle shoots and other grasses and trees also appear. In addition to the frieze, the lower walls of the room were embellished with architectural motifs including pillars with capitals and an architrave.

Among the remaining fragments from the South-East House, the House of the High Priest, the excavations of the Stratigraphic Museum and the chamber North-East of the excavated area, the following motifs are present: an olive spray, lilies, grasses, mice, running spirals, and garlands.

Perhaps the most frustrating of the samples collected are those of unknown provenience. Most of these were originally published in the *Palace of Minos* (1964), or a few years later in the *Knossos Fresco Atlas* (1967), and their original contexts have since been lost or were never recorded at all.⁵ In total, seventeen of the samples catalogued came from an unknown provenience and they included: KN 012, KN 026-028, KN 030-033, KN 045, KN 051, KN 056, KN 061, KN 069-071, KN 074, and KN 076. Because

⁵ On several occasions in the *Knossos Frescoes Atlas*, the pieces have been listed as ‘missing’, or with the provenance being “unknown” (Evans 1967, 17-41).

of their lost context many of these pieces have been dated stylistically based on other fresco remains from the palace centre; others remain undated. For the most part, they have been tentatively placed in the Neopalatial Period.⁶

Among the motifs present on these disparate fragments are a wide range of categories, including 'Human', 'Textile', 'Architectural', 'Vegetal' and 'Abstract'. Male figures have been identified, but no definitive females; the remaining fragments indicating humans are unidentifiable with respect to gender. An ivy scroll textile pattern was also identified. With respect to vegetation, there are grasses, lilies, trees, and leaves, namely olive sprays. The remaining motifs are abstract and consist of antithetical, dotted and running spirals, rosettes, vertically stripped bands, quatrefoils, spots or dots, marbling, horizontal bands or lines, diagonal bands or lines, and dentate bands.

The two fragments found in Final Palatial contexts, from the *Court of the Stone Spout*, but which are early enough to be considered as Neopalatial, have also been included in this section. They consist of two Taureador fragments, one of a leaping girl (KN 053) and one of a male Taureador (KN 054), as already discussed above.

House of the Frescoes (Plates 31-32): HF 001-005

The House of the Frescoes is located just North-West of the palace of Knossos, and dates to the Late Minoan period, namely from the fifteenth to the twelfth centuries BCE. The House of the Frescoes was also excavated by Evans, around the same time as the palatial complex (Evans 1964, 436-446). The building itself was destroyed in LM IA, though there appears to have been some damage to it during the MM IIIB period (Fig. 23)

⁶ KN 026-028 and KN 030-033 have not been assigned any date at all, since none has been cited in publication.

(Hood 2000, 27; 2005, 53). From the House of the Frescoes come a number of high quality nature frescoes showing plants, monkeys and birds. The fresco material from Room D was found stripped from the walls and apparently stacked along the east wall (Hood 2000, 27; Evans 1964, 444-446). Kontorli-Papadopoulou has suggested that the frescoes were carefully stacked and preserved because they served a religious function (Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, 48).

In total five painted wall plaster samples have been catalogued from the House of the Frescoes at Knossos (**Table 8**). The first catalogued fragments (HF 001) comprise a horizontally striped border, while HF 002 appears to have been part of a Nature scene, with parts of ivy and papyrus having been preserved.

By far, the most complete fresco from the House of the Frescoes is the ‘Monkey Fresco’ (HF 003) from Room D. Originally restored by Gilliéron Fils, it was later reconstructed by Mark Cameron in order to include fragments found in the Heraklion Museum storerooms. This fragment was part of a frieze that ran for approximately 5.5 metres along the top of the East wall and there is “evidence for at least six monkeys and eight birds, three or four waterfalls, and several nests with eggs set in the rockwork at the bottom of the frieze” (Immerwahr 1990, 44-45). Papyrus, lilies, and ivy are also present.

The highly fragmentary collection of plaster pieces, HF 004, comes from Rooms E and F. According to Immerwahr, it has a more “formal and hieratic quality and might be connected with the theme of a mountaintop sanctuary” (Immerwahr 1990, 46) than the ‘Monkey Fresco’ discussed above. The horns of one or two *agrimia* are preserved, as well as an olive tree.

The final fragment collected from the House of the Frescoes, HF 005, contains the marine motifs of shells and seaweeds. Its exact context within the building itself is not known, and this fragment was originally published in the *Palace of Minos*.

The Unexplored Mansion (Plates 33-36): UM 001-039

The Unexplored Mansion earned its name upon its discovery by Arthur Evans in 1908, though he did not excavate it. It was eventually excavated by the British School of Archaeology in Athens between 1967 and 1973 under the direction of M.R. Popham (Popham 1984, 1-2). The building itself is Late Minoan in date, probably constructed in LM IA, and appears to have been damaged by fire in the LM II period (Popham 1984, 2). It measures 24 by 14.5 m (**Fig. 24**).

The main fresco deposit from the Unexplored Mansion comes from Room P, which includes for the most part floral fragments. Fresco material was also excavated from Rooms A-H and L-Q, as well as from the perimeter of the Mansion in the North Corridor and Platform and the South Corridor (Cameron 1984, 127). Generally speaking, the painted plaster was “invariably scrappy in nature” (**Table 8**) (Cameron 1984, 127).

There is fresco material from four general periods found in and around the Unexplored Mansion. Middle Minoan III to Late Minoan IA material has been recovered from the South Corridor and North Platform. The earliest fragments found here consist of dado fragments imitating wood panelling and border stripes (UM 035), which date to MM IIIA (Cameron 1984, 149). Material from the central and southern rooms, as well as staircase J-K appears to be LM II in date. Final and Postpalatial material was also recovered during excavations from the North Corridor, from outside of Room D and in

Rooms A and E (Cameron 1984, 145); these fragments have not been included in this study, however, on account of their late date.

From Room P, which was destroyed in the LM II fire, a total of twenty-four fragments were catalogued (UM 001-024), including one abstract piece with moulded stucco (UM 024), all of which date to the LM IA/B period. According to Cameron, the distribution of the pieces suggests that they fell from an upper storey (Cameron 1984, 149). The wall paintings from Room P are consistently of the 'Nature Scene' type and a variety of vegetal motifs are present that appear to have been surrounded by banded borders, as it has been seen at other sites. Among the floral motifs present, Cameron has identified anemones, blue plant stems, 'frilled' flowers, grasses, 'osier' plants and rockwork fragments.⁷ One piece of a red spiral with a moulded background was found (UM 024), and appears to be slightly earlier in date than the vegetal motifs.

From Room C come two fragments (UM 025-026). They consist of a banded piece and a speckled dado, respectively. Two fragments were catalogued from Room H (UM 027-028), consisting of more banding, as well as a possible spiral (UM 028). Three fragments were catalogued from Corridor L (UM 029-031), just outside of Room P, and it is possible that some of these fragments could belong with those from Room P, having fallen from above. They consist of a rockwork dado, a greyish-blue lily and some red blobs, respectively. Only one fragment, consisting of curving bands, was catalogued from Room M (UM 032), as well as one banded red, black and white fragment from Staircase N-O (UM 033), and one from Room O, with a sky-blue amorphous shape (UM 034).

⁷ The botanical identifications given by Cameron have been preserved in the catalogue in the field for 'Common Name', but as motifs, they have been catalogued strictly as 'floral', VE01, 'grasses', VE06, and 'leaves', VE07.

Imitation wood panelling was found in both the South Corridor (UM 036) and the North Platform (UM 035). The final remaining catalogued fragments (UM 037-039) consist of a red speckled dado, and a monochromatic light blue, and monochromatic light pink series of dado fragments all from the South Corridor.

Preliminary Observations

It has already been noted several times throughout this chapter that a wider variety of subjects matters and motifs are found at Knossos than at all the other sites on Crete. Morgan suggests that this wider variety is a reflection of changing aesthetic tastes through time, based on the long period of occupation at the site of Knossos (Morgan 2005, 28). The answer may be more complex, however, since many of the sites examined in Chapter Three have equally long periods of occupation as did Knossos and they do not demonstrate the same degree of diversity. The full implications of the differences and similarities between Knossos and the other Minoan sites will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Five, but some preliminary observations and theories have been included here.

While human figures are present at Chania, Ayia Triadha, Archanes, Tylissos, Pseira and Palaikastro, they are generally limited to only a few examples at each site. At Knossos there are well over twenty separate instances of humans, life-sized, in relief or in Miniature Style. This number does not even include the identification of humans by means of textile fragments. Also, though relief fresco does appear elsewhere, such as at Pseira, Chania, Palaikastro, Pseira and Zakros, it is only at Knossos that animals, namely bulls, are represented in this fashion. Elsewhere it is restricted to the human figure, or, in the singular case of Zakros, to a running spiral pattern. In fact, it is only at Knossos that

bulls are depicted at all in fresco; this holds true for monkeys as well. Archanes is the only site outside of Knossos with any evidence for marine motifs.

Also worthy of mention is the category of 'Abstract' motifs. Only this category that is more restricted at Knossos than elsewhere. Indeed, the Protopalatial material from Phaistos shows a demonstrably greater variety of abstract motifs than the palace of Knossos. It is difficult to say with certainty what could account for such a difference, and this issue will be explored further in the next chapter.

What can account for these similarities and differences between Knossos and the other sites included herein? Immerwahr suggests that the Knossian dominance over wall painting may reflect a "palace monopoly of painters based at Knossos who decorated houses and villas in the immediate vicinity...and were loaned out to decorate more outlying villas...which are still in the Knossian territory" (Immerwahr 1990, 3). Given the plaster reliefs seen at Chania and Palaikastro, however, this answer seems much too simple. It seems likely that this same group of painters was also travelling to outlying areas of the island to paint, rather than being restricted to Central Crete. Does it reflect a Knossian hegemony on painters? Can accidents of preservation account for all of the differences? How much does our own Knossocentric view of Neopalatial Crete affect our interpretations of the regional disposition of painting on the island? It is the goal of the next chapter to attempt to answer some of these questions.

Chapter 5

Regional Distribution: Patterns and Meaning

I am more or less convinced that the limited pictorial decoration found at many individual sites throughout the entire history of Aegean fresco painting is generally due to the work of travelling artists, who were either dependent on a central authority or worked freelance. From this perspective, the murals of certain Minoan villas...or of settlements...constitute exemplary cases of the work of visiting artists, apparently of Knossian provenance.

Boulotis 2000, 853

The regional patterns of distribution formed by the data from the fresco catalogue, as presented in Chapters Three and Four, have the potential to reveal a number of interesting and meaningful patterns of distribution. The distribution of motifs according to their presence or absence in the wall paintings of Neopalatial Crete can allow scholars and archaeologists to understand the development and diffusion of a Minoan iconographical culture as represented in the painted wall plaster. This type of study also has the potential of clarifying the role of the patron-artist relationship, as well as to clarify the influence of both patron choice and the availability of artists on the island.

Though this has been discussed in the first chapter, it is necessary to reiterate the limitations of the material remains at this point. On account of poor preservation, improper handling by earlier archaeologists and poor publishing, in addition to the elite nature of wall painting itself, there is far less evidence from which to draw any

conclusions in comparison to certain other types of material evidence, such as ceramics and seals/sealings: the painted wall plaster that does remain represents only a fraction of what originally existed. Needless to say, arguments from silence are of little value, but there is still much that can be said about the patterns of usage demonstrated in this study, despite the relative paucity of the material itself. This is especially true when analysed in conjunction with other types of evidence, such as the architectural context in which the wall painting fragments were found.¹

As such, the primary purpose of this chapter is to present the regional patterns of distribution, then to explore the possible meanings behind the patterns. What can these patterns tell us about the artists who painted the frescoes? What can they tell us about the patrons for whom they worked? Is it possible to gain a better understanding of the function of wall painting in Minoan Crete? To what degree are the choices of motifs dictated by the function and architectural context of the wall painting itself? The regional patterns brought to light by this study will serve to answer each of these questions in turn. The art of wall painting was largely predicated upon two factors: choice and control.

With this in mind, however, it must be noted that no definitive link between artistic patronage and political control can currently be forged. The reason for this is that “the shared features [of wall painting]...do not distinguish between the alternative [political] explanations: an interaction among equals, on the one hand, or the domination by one of the polities, on the other” (Kosso and Kosso 1995, 588). Though it would be tempting to fit the findings of this study into some sort of political model of Knossian

¹ The potential for combining the information gathered from seals and sealings, and the ceramic evidence with the painted plaster material will be discussed in the final chapter.

hegemony or peer polity interaction, but a connection between artistic control and political control must first be established. This connection is not currently possible: it is only *if* we can accept that political control is one and the same with cultural control that we can use wall painting as an indicator of either a political hegemony or a system of independent peer polities. Here, culture and politics must remain separate, at least until greater evidence can be unearthed to help to bridge the gap between artistic patronage and political control.

As such, the following chapter will consist of three sections. In the first section I intend to look at the Protopalatial material from Knossos and Phaistos in order to better contextualise the Neopalatial material; after this the later material. This will be done generally at first, according to the seven motif categories discussed in Chapter Two. Then these patterns will be looked at more specifically, according to both specific motifs within their respective categories and genres, as well as by site type: palace centre, villa, or settlement. Here, palace-centres are considered to be those traditionally labelled as such; other large rural court centred buildings in isolation have generally been considered as ‘villas’, though large city houses have also been included under this heading. All sites that are neither a ‘palace-centre’ nor a ‘villa’ have been categorised as ‘settlement/other’ (McEnroe 1982, 3-19). For example, Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia has been labelled a villa, rather than a settlement, since all the fresco material comes from a single large building; had fresco material been included from other sites within the greater settlement of Archanes, it would have been classified as a settlement.

Following this section there will be an analysis of the possible meanings behind these regional patterns. Thus, I will evaluate the issues of artists: who they were, where

they came from and for whom they were working. Also, I will address the matter of patrons and patron choice, by looking at the variations in regional usage, again, according to both geographic location and by site type. Finally, I intend to look at the issue of site or architectural function and how it related to those choices made by the artists and by the patrons, and the degree to which it dictated those choices.

In this way, it will be seen that: a) there was one centre for the training of fresco painters, and that centre was at or near Knossos; b) there is a high degree of variability at palace centres and in other settlement sites; c) there was a higher degree of control exercised over the choice of fresco at villas than there was at palace centres or in other settlement sites; and, d) although painted wall plaster is most certainly a sign of the elite, it is not necessarily a mark of palatial or political control.

The Protopalatial Evidence

Though much of the fresco material is chronologically problematic, the distribution of those securely Protopalatial pieces is significant for its contextualisation and the distribution and appearance of wall painting in the Neopalatial period.

The palace centre of Phaistos offers the largest body of evidence for this time period. This is likely on account of the palace at Phaistos having gone out of use, or the reduction in its use during the Neopalatial period (Shoep 2002, 23: 28), which helped to both preserve the Protopalatial material, as well as help in its dating. To date, painted wall plaster has not yet been unearthed, or published, from any other site for this period. Thus, it is a reasonable assumption that the use of painted plaster for ‘decorative’ use first began in Central Crete, and it began as a strictly palatial art form. Though some of the

earliest *monochromatic* painted plaster comes from the Prepalatial sites at Vasiliki and Myrtos, it is not unreasonable to believe that Central Cretans might have used it in this early period as well. In addition, from the Protopalatial material collected at Phaistos and Knossos, it appears that only abstract motifs were present in this period. The relatively few examples of abstract motifs from other sites in the Neopalatial period would suggest that abstract motifs were eventually replaced by representational motifs, either due to an increase in artist skill, or due to a change in the fashion.

Whether the practice of decorative wall painting began at Knossos or at Phaistos is still open to debate. If we accept that the Protopalatial period was, in all likelihood, governed by a number of independent polities (Shoep 2002, 19), then Knossos and Phaistos should be understood as being politically independent of each other. Since wall painting appears in both locations around the same time, and both are within the same geographic area, there are two possibilities with respect to the artists. On the one hand, it is possible that we are dealing with one group of artists. On the other, there may have been two separate groups working independently at each of these centres. Given the current body of data, it is difficult to determine which of these is most likely, but the decline seen at Phaistos in the subsequent period might suggest two separate groups of artists, since wall painting not only continued, but flourished at Knossos in the Neopalatial period.

The Neopalatial Period: Regional Distribution of Motifs

In the Neopalatial period, after the destruction of the first palaces, wall painting became both more geographically and typologically diverse, though Knossos still seemed

to act as some sort of centre for the artists. Geographically, the distribution of the fresco material can be assessed in a number of different ways. As has already been mentioned in previous chapters, the palace centre at Knossos produced the highest number of fresco fragments used in this study. Those sites that are farthest away from Knossos appear, at first glance, to have the least amount of painted wall plaster. There is not, however, a linear correlation between geographic distance from the centre at Knossos and the number of samples collected (**Map 3**). It should be noted that the numbers representing the number of fragments catalogues are deceptive, since they do not represent in any way the number of actual wall paintings present; they do, however, serve as a general guideline.

That said, there are, overall, a greater number of fragments recorded at sites in Central Crete than at Chania in the West,² or at any of the sites in East Crete.

It is also important to note the regional presence of each of the motif categories in an unquantified fashion, in order to assess the motif types as they appear across the island (**Maps 4-10**). As can be expected, given the quantitative predominance of the palace centre of Knossos, it is only there that all of the motif categories are present. Second to Knossos is the site of Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia, at which six of the seven overall categories of motifs are present, with only ‘Objects’ being absent.

Distribution by Motif Category

The first category of motifs, “Abstract”, is by far the most prevalent on a geographical basis. First, as was discussed in Chapter Two, it has the greatest variety of

² Though there are fifteen samples collected from Chania in all, only one of those fragments is not monochromatic; given that this study observes trends in the usage of motifs, those fragments should be

different motifs, thirty-two in total. These motifs do not appear among the collected fragments from Chania, but they do appear in the Pediada at Katsamba, Amnissos, Knossos, Archanes, Galatas, and Mallia; in the Mesara at Phaistos, Ayia Triada and Kommos; and in East Crete at Pseira, Palaikastro and Zakros (**Map 4**).

Of these sites, the palaces of Knossos, in the Neopalatial period, and Phaistos in the Protopalatial period, have the greatest variety of abstract motifs (**Chart 1**).³ At Knossos, twenty-five of the thirty-two abstract motifs appear. If the motifs also present at the House of the Fresco and the Unexplored Mansion are also included, the area as a whole represents 71.8% of the thirty-two overall abstract motifs. At Phaistos, sixteen of the thirty-two abstract motifs are present, representing exactly half of the total possible abstract motifs. Though the material from Phaistos is Protopalatial in date, it remains relevant here in that it further contextualises the shift in the Neopalatial period away from strictly abstract paintings.

The abstract motifs present in the textiles of the Pseira ‘ladies’ represent seven of the thirty-two possible motifs, while Mallia has five, Amnissos has four, Katsamba has three, Kommos, Archanes, Galatas, and Zakros each have two, and both Ayia Triada and Palaikastro each have only one abstract motif present. No abstract motifs are present at Nirou Khani, Tylissos, Prasa or Chania.

The usage of the various motifs in the other categories is somewhat more restricted than those of the abstract category. First, the category of “animal” motifs appears mostly in Central Crete, and mostly in the Pediada (**Map 5**). Here they are found at Katsamba, Archanes, and Knossos, including the House of the Frescoes, and at Ayia

disregarded for the sake of this particular comparison.

³ Both the Protopalatial and Neopalatial material have been included in the charts.

Triada. In the East, there is one fragment from Palaikastro with a griffin (AN08). Of the eight possible animal motifs, Knossos has six, the House of the Frescoes and Ayia Triada have three each, and the remaining each have only one animal type present (**Chart 2**).

Human motifs, either flat or in stucco relief, also see a wide geographical dispersion on the island (**Map 6**). There are remains of stucco human figures in the East and West from Chania, Pseira and Palaikastro, but for the most part they can be found mostly in the Pediada, as it was with animal motifs. In the Pediada, they are found in relief only at Knossos, while at Katsamba, Tylissos, Archanes, Prasa and Mallia, they are simply painted in the more traditional fresco technique, that is to say, flat painted (**Chart 3**).

Marine motifs appear only at Knossos and Archanes, which are both situated in the Pediada, and not all that far away from each other (**Map 7**). At both sites, two each of the six different marine motifs are present (**Chart 4**).⁴

Objects appear predominantly in Central Crete, at Knossos, the Unexplored Mansion, Nirou Khani, and Kommos; in East Crete, at the palace centre at Zakros (**Map 8**). At Knossos, nine of ten possible motifs appear, with only the Sacral Knot (OB 06) being absent. At Nirou Khani, the Sacral Knot is the only motif present. One object each appears at the Unexplored Mansion, Kommos and Zakros (**Chart 5**).

Textile motifs are the most restricted of the categories, since there is so much overlap with abstract motifs, as discussed in Chapter Two. These are found at Knossos, the House of the Frescoes, Ayia Triada, Chania and Pseira, with only one of the three possible motifs found at each of these sites (**Map 9/Chart 6**).

⁴ The two other marine motifs originally included in the study were found on later fragments that have since been removed from the study.

Vegetal motifs and are the second most varied and geographically diverse motif category, after the ‘Abstract’ category. They are present almost entirely in central Crete, however, with the exception of one example from Palaikastro (**Map 10**). They appear at Tyliossos, Amnisos, Archanes, Galatas, Knossos, including the House of the Frescoes and the Unexplored Mansions, Phaistos, Kommos and Ayia Triada. As has been the norm for each category, it is at Knossos that there is the greatest number and variety of vegetal motifs. Of the ten possible vegetal types, eight are present in the palace, and with the inclusion of the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes, all of the vegetal motifs are accounted for. Archanes shows the second greatest diversity, representing six of the possible motif types for this category, with the garden frescoes from Amnisos accounting for four, Ayia Triada for three, Phaistos representing two, and Galatas, Tyliossos and Palaikastro each having one of the ten possible motifs (**Chart 7**).

Combinations of Motifs by Site

In terms of the combination of motif types, no two sites demonstrate the same arrangements. At Chania, there are Human, Monochrome and Textile fragments (**Chart 8**). In the Mesara, at Phaistos, there are Abstract and Vegetal (**Chart 9**); at Ayia Triada there are Abstract, Animal, Human, Textile and Vegetal (**Chart 10**); at Kommos there are abstract, objects and vegetal motifs (**Chart 11**).

In the Pediada, the palace centre of Knossos demonstrates motifs from every category (**Chart 12**), while Archanes represents all categories save that of Objects (**Chart 13**): the House of the Frescoes has Abstract, Animal, Textile and Vegetal motifs present (**Chart 14**), while the Unexplored Mansion has Abstract, Monochromatic,

Objects and Vegetal motifs (**Chart 15**). At Galatas there are Abstract and Vegetal motifs (**Chart 16**); at Katsamba there are Abstract, Animal, and Human motifs (**Chart 17**); at Amnissos, there are Vegetal and Abstract motifs (**Chart 18**). At Nirou Khani there is only one object, as discussed above; at Tylissos there are Human and Vegetal motifs (**Chart 19**); at Prasa there are Human and Vegetal motifs (**Chart 20**); finally at Mallia, there are Abstract and one possibly Human fragment (**Chart 21**).

In East Crete, Palaikastro has Abstract, Human and Vegetal (**Chart 22**); Pseira has Abstract, Human and Textile (**Chart 23**); finally, Zakros has Abstract and Objects (**Chart 24**).

From this data, a number of potential patterns can be noted. First, there is the greatest degree of variation in Central Crete, both in terms of the motif categories present as well as the number of motifs themselves. Generally speaking, the further away a site is from Central Crete, the fewer the number of motif categories present. There is no single pattern, however, for which motifs are found, regardless of distance from the centre. That is to say, human motifs, abstract motifs, textile, vegetal motifs and objects do not seem to be inherently bound by geography. Other motifs, however, such as marine and animal motifs, are much more restricted in use and distribution. It would appear, based on these preliminary patterns, that there was likely a greater number of skilled artists in Central Crete, thus allowing for the greater variability of theme. The presence of itinerant artists coming from Central Crete could help to explain these findings.

Distribution of Specific Motifs by Site

Beyond the general observations that can be made by motif category, a more

specific analysis of the regional distribution of each specific motif included within this study can be especially revealing (Table 9). For instance, as it has already been noted, the palace centre at Knossos represents the greatest variety of motif types. It is also to be noted, however, that certain motifs are present *only* at the palace centre at Knossos. Among those only present at Knossos in the category of ‘abstract’ motifs are the segmented band (AB03), the checkerboard pattern (AB04), both solid and dotted chevrons (AB05-06), dentils (AB09), the herringbone pattern (AB11), the antithetical and dotted spirals (AB21-22), the sponge imprint (AB 25), and the zigzag (AB32). Of the total number of motifs within the category of ‘abstract’, ten of the thirty motifs appear only at Knossos, representing 31.2% of the total number of abstract motif types. In addition, there are another four motifs that appear only at Knossos and Phaistos: the dentate band (AB01), the meander (AB15), the quatrefoil (AB16), and the running spiral (AB24). It should be noted that most of these are found in Protopalatial contexts only, and as such, their lack of use at other centres was likely chronological rather than geographical.

Among those other motifs that appear only in one or two sites, circles (AB07) appear only at Phaistos and Amnissos, and concentric circles (AB08) appear, again, only at Phaistos. Among those abstract motifs that appear only in settlements, hatching (AB10) appears only at Tourkoyeitionia-Archanes; while the scale pattern is present only Katsamba and Pseira. The abstract motifs AB23 and AB31, a repeated spiral and imitation wood panelling, respectively, appear only in the villas of Ayia Triada and the Unexplored Mansion. Finally, the vertical striped band (AB28) appears only at Knossos and at Palaikastro.

The most commonly found motifs are the horizontal line (AB13), which appears at ten of the twenty sites, thus exactly half, and is represented equally in palace centres, villas and settlements. The next most commonly found motif is that of spots or dots (AB26), appearing at six sites, with only one example coming from a villa, with the rosette motif (AB18) following closely, being found at five sites, though this time, it is predominantly found at the palace centres, with a single exception at Pseira. The distribution of the other abstract motifs is, for the most part, random, likely due to the small sample number.

In the other categories, there are again such patterns to be discerned. The palace at Knossos shows the greatest variety of all motifs. For animal motifs, three out of the eight motifs are found only at the palace centre: the bull (AB02), mice (AB05), and the sphinx (AB08). Within the category of marine motifs, dolphins (MA02) are only found at Knossos, while the remaining marine motifs are found at either Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia or Knossos. Those motifs under the category of 'Objects' also tend to be found exclusively at Knossos: seven of the ten possible motifs in this category are only found in the palace centre. In addition, with the single exception of the motif of the 'Horns of Consecration' (OB05), which is found at Zakros, none of the other motifs of this category are found outside of Central Crete. Among the vegetal motifs, only two, the saffron (VE05) and the fern (VE08) are exclusive to Knossos. As it was with 'objects', vegetal motifs do not seem to occur outside of Central Crete, with the exception of the saffron motif at Palaikastro, and, as it has been noted previously, they are much more frequent in villas than in any other type of site.

Distribution of Motifs according to Site Type: Palace Centre, Villa or Settlement

Beyond geographic distribution, there is also distribution according to site type; that is to say, specific motifs and genres of wall painting have a tendency to appear in specific types of locations. With respect to the distribution of motif categories (**Chart 25**), abstract motifs predominate at palace centres, and do not appear as often at villas or in settlements. Animal motifs show an equal distribution at Palace Centres and Villas, but are less frequently seen in settlement contexts; Marine motifs, as it has been discussed previously, appear only at Archanes and Knossos, making their distribution by site type of little value here. Objects, as with Abstract motifs, are found predominantly in palace centres, though, as with Marine motifs, this value should be taken with a proverbial grain of salt, since most of the motifs appear only at Knossos; that said, they do appear at two different palace centres, and in only one villa. Vegetal motifs, on the other hand, occur most often in the context of villas, whereby they appear at six of the seven sites included in this study.

In addition to the distribution of specific motifs according to site type, it is also possible to make some observations about the distribution of genres of wall paintings, that is to say, the types of paintings themselves.⁵ For instance, Landscape scenes only appear in villas: they do not appear at all in the palace centres, with two exceptions that will be discussed further below. Nor do they appear in settlements. It is likely for this reason that the predominance of vegetal motifs in villas as opposed to other site types discussed above, exists. Those vegetal motifs that appear at other sites are more often than not part of a textile pattern associated with a life-sized or nearly life-sized human figure. That geography is not necessarily a factor here is evidenced by the villas at Ayia

⁵ Though genres have not been discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, they were included in the catalogue as they

Triada in Central Crete, and, more importantly, at Epano Zakros in East Crete. Though villas are predominately found in the Pediada, the presence of Landscapes in villas does not appear to be diminished by geographic distance: they appear in the Mesara as well as in East Crete. It is possible that there is a chronological reason behind this. Villas occur almost exclusively in the Neopalatial period, and so, it is reasonable to think that Landscape paintings were more popular during this period. The abstract motifs prevalent from the Protopalatial period were no longer a trend in wall painting by this time, and as such, they do not appear as often in these new constructions. Also, the villas cease to be used after the fall of the second palaces, thus, there was no rebuilding or redecorating phase at these sites, and thus, the landscapes were preserved (van Effenterre and van Effenterre 1997, 12). It seems implausible, however that every single fragment of Landscape fresco from palace centres and settlements would have been destroyed, which leads to the conclusion that there was another reason for this prevalence. This will be discussed below in relation to the functions of the wall paintings.

Stucco relief, on the other hand, does not appear at all in villas, though it does appear in both the palace centres and in the settlements of Chania and Palaikastro. Both of these are major settlements in which no palatial court-centred building has yet been found, though one is assumed at Chania.

Life-sized, or nearly life-sized human figures, whether in relief or flat-painted, appear most frequently in settlements, with the palace centre of Knossos having the only certain example of humans in wall painting among the major palace centres. Objects do not tend to be in settlements, but rather are found in either villas or palace centres.

Miniature fresco appears most often at Knossos, but also at the villas of Tylissos

are inherently connected to the motif categories themselves, and their patterns of distribution are of value.

and Prasa, at Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia, and at the palatial site of Galatas, which are all geographically close, both to each other, and to Knossos, and plausibly under the direct control of that palace centre.⁶

Palace Centres: Knossos, Galatas, Phaistos, Mallia, Zakros

With respect to palace centres there does not appear to be any sort of control over the types of motifs that are present (**Chart 26**). Generally speaking, abstract motifs are found more often at palace centres than other types of motifs, since they are present at each of the centres included in this study. Beyond this, all the palace centres save Knossos show only two different categories of motifs each, with only two centres showing the same combinations: both Phaistos and Galatas use abstract and vegetal motifs. Mallia and Zakros, on the other hand, use abstract and human motifs, and abstract and objects motifs, respectively.

Why is this? Could the differences be related to the number of preserved samples? Or, is this a deliberate attempt by the elite at Knossos to maintain its superior status by being bigger and better in every sense of the word? Conversely, was it a deliberate choice on behalf of the ruling elites of these other palace centres to passively deny the authority at Knossos, since “sharing similar choices might be a way of expressing allegiance” (M. Shaw 1997, 500), or alternatively, dissimilar choices might be a way of expressing defiance.

⁶ Processional frescoes have not been included in this section since the few examples that are sufficiently preserved on Crete come only from Knossos. Generally speaking, human figures from other sites are not

Villas (including Epano Zakros: ZA 003-006)

Insofar as the villas are concerned, they all seem to have the same major types of scenes within them (**Chart 27**). That said, however, as can be seen clearly from the distribution of specific motifs, the types of landscape used all show evidence of personal choice and originality (Chapin 2004, 55). The plants chosen for representation at the Unexplored Mansion are different from the lilies from Amnisos, or the Nilotic scenes at Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia. Thus, one is able to see that there *may* be some degree of control over the *types* of scenes that appear in villas, but that beyond dictating that this scene should feature a landscape, there is no control. The presence of Landscapes almost exclusively at villas precludes the possibility that Landscapes are strictly a chronological indication of a fashion, or phase or popularity; if it were, we would expect to see these in other contexts, regardless of reuse or redecoration. Also, though it would be tempting to relate the motifs found in the villas to those found at the nearest palace-centre, this is not possible for a number of reasons. First, with the exceptions of Ayia Triada and Epano Zakros, all of the villas herein belong to the Knossian hinterland. Second, the villa at Ayia Triada cannot be related to the palace-centre at Phaistos, since the latter does not appear to have been painted in the Neopalatial period. Finally, the paintings from the villa at Epano Zakros do not bear any similarities whatsoever to those from in the palace-centre at Kato Zakros. As such, the question that remains to be answered once again, is ‘why?’.

Analysis

Based on these findings, some broad conclusions can be reached. Fresco

generally well enough preserved to determine whether they are ‘ProceSSIONal’.

flourishes especially around the Knossos area, including the site of Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia. Also, the varieties of motifs that appear in the other centres away from Knossos have a certain amount of autonomy, given that no two centres show the same combinations or varieties of motifs. This would suggest that the artists are not being controlled directly from Knossos, and that there appears to be an element of choice involved, be it personal or dictated by reasons beyond political control. The relatively small number of fresco motifs indicates that there is an established iconography, and that the artists are working within an established framework, but that it is either ‘choice’ or ‘control’ that dictates the specific combinations that occur (Boulotis 2000, 846).

The presence of high quality stucco relief in every geographic region is a strong indication that there is likely a singular group of artists, skilled in stucco relief and trained in the Knossos region, who are travelling to various locales around the island. If we were dealing with a series of local workshops instead, the quality of painting would be substantially lower, since wall painting is an art form requiring a high degree of technical skill, and skill is acquired through experience. Based upon the relatively small amounts of fresco found outside of Central Crete, it seems unlikely that the artists were working only occasionally. As Boulotis notes, “experienced artists...would have been most unlikely to exercise their art solely on an occasional basis” (Boulotis 2000, 854).

I believe that we most certainly have a case of itinerant artists, trained at one centre, most likely at Knossos, who are not, however, being controlled by the palace centre there. Nor should it come as much of a surprise that these highly trained craft specialists came from the area of Knossos: it was by far the largest centre on the island. We should not, however, confuse ‘artistic centre’ with ‘controlling centre’.

Unfortunately, it has been a tendency of Minoan archaeology to attribute more power to Knossos than is necessarily owed to it. We continue to use “Minoan unity and Knossian centrality as underlying assumptions in [our] study of Minoan Crete” (Smith 2002, 61). The centre that trains the artists is not necessarily the same centre that controls them. There is a difference between provenance and control, and scholars of Minoan archaeology are often lax in admitting this difference. The temptation to attribute control universally across economics, politics, culture and ideology is increased by the lack of written records and the scantiness of the archaeological record (Shoep 2002, 21). With respect to wall paintings, however, the difference is clear upon a close inspection of the regional distribution of specific motifs.

Though control of this particular group of specialists might have stemmed from an increased prestige to the Knossian centre (Day and Wilson 2002, 114), the degree of variance between the centres denies any overt Knossian control. In the case of ‘freelance’ itinerant artists, the diffusion of the wall paintings would be marked by a certain degree of homogeneity and a shared thematic repertoire in which the degree of variance can be accounted for according to regional artistic dialects and patron choice (M. Shaw 1997, 484). If there were an overt control of the artists by one centre, then one would expect to see a more rigidly defined homogeneity and consistency of subject choice from one centre to another. The findings of this study, as well as those from Maria Shaw’s own regional study of the usage of motifs tend to support artistic autonomy.

The concept of travelling, or itinerant artists is not a new one. As Boulotis states, the existence of itinerant “painters has always been admitted (sensibly, though usually

tacitly) to explain the transmission and diffusion of mural painting within Crete” (2000, 845). With the discovery of stylistically Minoan wall paintings at Tell Kabri and Tell el D’aba (see Bietak, 2000; 2005), it has become increasingly clear that there were a group of highly trained artisans from Crete who travelled outside of their geographical area in order to paint (Boulotis 2000, 853).

Choice: Dictated by Patron, Function, or Both?

If the artists are not being controlled directly by Knossos, then by whom are they being controlled? The answer lies in the existence of a number of different patrons, whose choices were predicated upon personal preference, politics, economics, and ideology. The divergence of theme and variety of motif combinations in the wall paintings refutes the existence of a singular control over the wall painters. What one can see especially well in this type of study is the importance of personal choice, both on behalf of the artists and the patrons, even in a system of rigidly fixed boundaries. Even with a limited number of motifs present in Minoan Neopalatial wall painting, the combinations of these motifs is seemingly limitless, and expressed differently by every centre or site on the island. For instance, though there are sixty-nine recorded motifs, no two fragments collected from any of the sites demonstrate the same combination of motifs. In total, two hundred and thirty four fragments have been collected for this study, giving at least that many combinations, though many more are still possible. Thus, “outlets for choice lie in the manipulation of [the] system: careful selection, acceptance, and...rejection, and a shift in emphasis within the range of subject matter of the individual themes” (M. Shaw 1997, 500). In other words, even within the bounds

imposed by a cultural idiom, it is still possible to express personal choice by combining and recombining its various pieces in new ways.

Architectural Context

Although patrons were affecting the choice of themes and motifs in wall paintings, to what degree does the function of the room dictate the function of the wall paintings, and in turn, affect the choice of motif made by the patron? That is to say, how is the function connected to the choices that are being made? And to what degree is the function dictated by architecture? Though not a principle purpose of this study, it is also possible to look at the frescoes as a part of their architectural context as an indication of their function.⁷ Upon closer examination of the precise architectural context of the fragments, as seen in the site plans presented in Chapters Three and Four (**figs. 4-24**), it is possible to see some patterns of usage in terms of where specific types of motifs appear in specific types of buildings.⁸

We can assess only to a certain degree the actual function of the frescoes in Minoan Crete, since they often appear in buildings or rooms of undefined or uncertain functions. As such, it is impossible to fully understand how and why they are being used, though interpretations have been made. But “even without considering the function of the buildings and rooms involved, it seems clear that access to nature paintings was restricted and probably carefully controlled” (Chapin 2004, 59). That is, the architectural

⁷ Of course, this cannot always be done, since the exact find spot of many fresco fragments were never recorded, especially in earlier excavations, and also, since a large number of the fragments preserved from certain sites come from fresco heaps, such as at Phaistos, Knossos and Chania.

⁸ It is important to remember that even for those fragments which do have a precise find spot, often, they have likely fallen from upper storeys, which are seldom if ever preserved. I have indicated on the site plans which fragments are likely to have come from an upper storey whenever I am able to.

context within which a wall painting is found can indicate its degree of accessibility, and as such, whether it served a public or a private function.

Based on both the regional and typological distribution of the frescoes and their associated motifs, it is safe to say that wall painting in Neopalatial Crete did not serve a single purpose. It could not have served a single purpose while appearing in such varied forms in various building locations, with various combinations of motifs, and in varying quantities. As with the concept of a centralized political control of the artists themselves, there is too much diversity to accredit a tightly controlled function and purpose, even with chronology as a factor.

Generally speaking, walls were painted in order to be seen, but depending upon their relative degree of accessibility, it is clear that they were not necessarily meant to be seen by everyone (Chapin 2004, 59). Chapin has found that within the villas, the wall paintings tended to be found in rooms with a low degree of accessibility; these rooms did not open up directly onto open spaces, and often required admission to several other rooms first, prior to those rooms with the wall paintings (2004, 59). This tendency for frescoes to be painted in interior rooms can be seen at the villas of Ayia Triada (**fig. 6**), Nirou Khani (**fig. 12**), the Unexplored Mansion (**fig. 24**), and Tylissos (**fig. 13**). In other contexts, particularly in settlements, this trend can also be seen at Building AC at Pseira (**fig. 17**), in House X at Kommos (**fig. 8**), and Building 6 at Palaikastro (**fig. 19**).

The architectural distribution at the palaces, however, is altogether different. Some of the frescoes do appear in rooms of a more restricted access, as in the villas, but others are in much more accessible rooms, many entered directly from either the central courtyard, or by passageways, thus implying that wall paintings in palace-centres served

an altogether different purpose than those in villas. This variability also highlights the multiplicity of purposes that wall painting could serve, depending on its architectural setting. Though the spatial distribution at the palace of Knossos is a little more complex, by comparing it to the other palace centres, certain patterns do emerge. For instance, the frescoes that appear in or around Lustral Basins both at Knossos (**fig. 22**) and Zakros (**fig. 20**) imply a possible religious function, while those that appear in the banqueting hall at Zakros or directly off the central court, as at Knossos and Galatas, undoubtedly served some public function.⁹

The exact distinction between public and private rooms, and as such, public and private functions, should be approached with caution, since

...our sense of privacy is not a universal one... This need not, of course, mean that cultures cannot have at least partially overlapping norms, nor even that there are not broad cross-cultural generalizations to be drawn. (Riggsby 1997, 47)

Public and private should not be understood as an entirely black or white division. As has been discussed briefly above, one aspect of the distinction between public and private is the concept of privilege. In a spatial sense, the greater the degree of privacy, the higher the degree of privilege that a person required in order to enter that space. These areas could be defined within a structure by means of their accessibility; the more directly one could enter a space, the more public it would have been. As such, the boundaries between public and private spaces were imposed by means of architecture, since structural boundaries and the associated decorative language were used by the patron to guide visitors through their household as defined by their degree of privilege (Grahame

⁹ This is assuming that Lustral Basins did serve a religious function, and that Banquet Halls were intended for public banquets. Without further research and/or evidence, this is the assumption that must be made, however.

1997, 139).

With the above in mind, what then can we say about the rooms in which the frescoes are found? First, it is clear that some wall paintings were intended to serve a decidedly public function, while others served a more private one, though not necessarily a domestic one. As it has been shown, the degree of accessibility of the wall painting itself can help to define its relatively public or private nature. How then, does this relate to the particular motifs involved? Is there a preponderance of one type of motif in the private realm and other types in a more public setting?

At palace centres, for instance at Zakros, the fresco found *in situ* in the Lustral Basin (ZA 003), a more private area, has Horns of Consecration, while the much more public fresco in the Banqueting Hall (ZA 001) is abstract (**fig. 20**). At Knossos, however, the distribution of motifs according to spatial accessibility does not seem to bear out any distinct patterns: human figure is found in both easily accessible rooms as well as more secluded ones; animal motifs, especially the bull, are found in a number of different areas in the palace, as well (**fig. 22**). At Mallia, the actual find spot of the fresco material was seldom recorded; where it was, it shows an Abstract motif in a fairly public access corridor (**fig. 15**). The case for villas, on the other hand, is both much simpler and more consistent. As has already been discussed, villas favoured Landscape frescoes, and they are found in less accessible rooms.

Finally, given the varied nature of the buildings in which the fresco material is found in the case of settlements, it is not possible to establish distinct patterns based on comparanda: each site needs to be assessed on its own merits. As it was stated above, the sites of Pseira, Kommos and Palaikastro show fresco in generally more isolated rooms.

At Palaikastro, motifs from a number of categories are present within the same room: animal, abstract, and vegetal. In the more public access Room 18 of Building E, human figure is present (**fig. 18**). At Pseira, however, the human figures appear in a room that appears to have a somewhat more restricted access (**fig. 17**). At Kommos, the motifs that are present are Abstract, though the room seems to have been private in nature (**figs. 7-8**). Though these are only a few examples, it becomes clear that, based on the current evidence, there is no particular pattern insofar as palaces and settlements are concerned. Only villas seem to represent any sense of distinct control over the setting, function, and type of wall paintings present.

Preliminary Conclusions

Based on the evidence presented above and in previous chapters, it becomes apparent that decorative painted wall plaster began in Central Crete, either at Phaistos or at Knossos, and second, that Central Crete remained the centre for wall painting in the Neopalatial period. Given the greater variety of motif types that appear both at the palace centre of Knossos, as well as in surrounding settlements, it seems most likely that there was the greatest availability of artists in this geographic area. Schools of artists may then have been trained in or around Knossos, and travelled to other parts of the island in order to practice their craft. Such a theory is borne out by the scantiness of painted wall plaster finds at sites farther away from this centre, such as at the palace of Zakros. With respect to the types of frescoes seen according to site types, there is generally a higher degree of variation in motifs at palace centres and settlements, and a higher degree of control at villas. These conclusions will be looked at in greater detail in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 6

Conclusions and Future Studies

Whilst any society is a complex, more or less integrated whole, the social totality has to be picked apart if we are to even begin to understand its internal dynamics. The differentiation of a society into its component parts is an unavoidable analytical exercise...However, in breaking the social totality down analytically it is easy to lose sight of the fact that ultimately the different pieces do need reassembling.

Knappett 2002, 171

The wall paintings of Minoan Crete act as one facet of a number of cultural indicators that can be used to better understand the role of artists and regional dynamics of the island during the Neopalatial period. Unlike contemporary artisans and craftsmen in the Near East, whom we know from written records were typically under state or royal control (Muhly 2005, 685), there are no such certainties in the evidence from Crete. All that we are left with are a number of fragments of painted plaster, only a meagre representation of what had once existed. But from these few and fragmentary remains, we can begin to piece together a picture of artistic patronage and control.

The primary purpose of this study has been to observe the regional predilection for the use of certain motifs within the Minoan iconographical language in the wall paintings of the Proto- and Neopalatial periods. Based on this study, there are four main observations that can be made. First, there appears to be a singular provenance for

fresco painters, who seem to have been trained in or around the centre of Knossos. These fresco painters were not, however, being controlled by this centre. Second, some motifs, such as the human figure, which have often been cited as the work of palatial painters who were being directly controlled by the powers that be at Knossos (Immerwahr 1990, 3; Boulotis 2000, 851), were not, in fact, strictly palatial in nature; they appear in a greater number of settlement sites than they do at palace centres. Third, other types of frescoes, such as Miniature Fresco, which have not been strictly categorised as palatial, do, in fact, appear to have been controlled in some fashion by the centre at Knossos, since they only appear in buildings that are directly associated to this centre. Finally, there appears to be a distinct relationship between building type and certain fresco types, as seen with the appearance of Landscape Frescoes only in villas. Thus, it would seem that restrictions were placed on specific types of wall paintings, but not necessarily on the artists themselves.

A secondary result of this study has been to create, in one place, an easily accessible catalogue of the fresco material from Crete in the Neopalatial period, including images of each fragment catalogued and bibliographic references for each. Though such a catalogue was undertaken by Sara Immerwahr in 1990, it included, for the most part, only those frescoes for which large portions were preserved, or those frescoes which are the most well-known. I have included, in addition to the fresco material that Immerwahr presented in her own catalogue, multiple fragments that she did not include, many of which have not been republished since the initial excavation reports. It is my hope that the catalogue included within this study will provide a tool for easy access to the fresco material for future students of Minoan wall painting.

To expand on each of the points discussed above, I will first turn to the provenance of the fresco painters themselves. It has been seen that there is the greatest variety of motifs and number of preserved fragments at Knossos, as well as in its surrounding villas. If we accept that the amount of wall painting was partially dependant upon the availability of skilled painters, then the greater the number of frescoes, and the greater the variety within those frescoes, the greater the number of skilled artists would be present in that area. It is not only plausible, but highly likely that the painters were being trained at Knossos, given that it was the largest centre on the island in the Neopalatial period, regardless of its actual political or economic control.

I would suggest, however, given the differences in the various combinations of motifs at sites in the Mesara and East Crete, that the artists were autonomous, for the most part. That is to say, their choices were being dictated by a number of different patrons or by the function of the room or building, rather than by a singular controlling entity from Knossos itself. I would also suggest that these patrons, with respect to their artistic choices, were also not being controlled by a central authority at Knossos, but rather were being influenced by social conventions, or even personal choice.

That human figural fresco was strictly a palatial art form, found only at Knossos or in villas directly controlled by Knossos is also incorrect (Cameron 1976, 12; Immerwahr 1990, 3), since human figure executed in plaster relief appears at both Palaikastro and Chania, neither of which is a palace centre. Though there is still the potential of finding a palatial centre in both of these locations, the figural frescoes have not been found in palatial buildings at all. The same holds true for the relief women from Pseira. The presence of human figures in the villas around Knossos and at Ayia Triada

could either support or refute this theory also, though there is a higher likelihood of Knossian control in these villas, given their geographic proximity to the centre. It should be noted, however, that a greater number of plaster reliefs have been collected from sites that are quite distant from Knossos, than at those sites which are closer. Also, the human figure, executed in plaster relief, has not yet been found in any other palace except for Knossos.

With respect to Miniature Fresco, it is likely that this particular form of fresco painting was strictly controlled by Knossian artists, given that it appears only at Knossos, and three of its geographically closest villas, Prasa, Tylissos and Archanes-Tourkoyeitionia, and at the palatial site at Galatas, which seems to have been built under the direct control of the palace centre at Knossos (Rethemiotakis 2002, 56-63). The close connections between the frescoes found at Archanes and Knossos have been discussed at length in previous chapters, and as such in conjunction with the presence of Miniature Fresco at Archanes, it would seem that this type of painting was being regulated by Knossos.

Finally, there does appear to be a relationship between architectural context and type of wall painting. Based on the available evidence, for instance, Landscape Frescoes tend to appear only in villas. There are only two exceptions to this general rule, and rather than outright refute the observation, they raise questions of their own. The first exception is the Saffron Gatherer from Knossos (KN 041). First, this particular example is decidedly earlier than other Landscape Frescoes, as it dated to MM IIIA, which could be meaningful in a number of ways, especially since all the other Landscape frescoes included in this study date to the LM IA period or slightly later. It could suggest that the

use of this type of fresco only in the context of a villa was a later occurrence. It could also suggest that whatever attached connection there was between Landscape Frescoes and villas, there was a similar function at Knossos in this earlier period. Since this fresco was recovered in a fresco heap by Arthur Evans from the area of the Early Keep, we cannot be certain of its original provenance. It is possible, though unlikely, that this fresco does not actually come from the palace at all. Since we cannot know the layout of the first palace, or any earlier constructs on the same site, it is perhaps more plausible that this area served a different function in the MM IIIA period than it did in the LM IA period, one which was perhaps more in-line with the function of a villa. The presence of monkeys in the House of the Frescoes, which is a villa, might support such a theory, since monkeys are not found within any other palatial context.¹ Without finding additional pieces of this fresco *in situ*, however, it is impossible to draw any real conclusions without relying upon arguments from silence.

The other exception to this rule exists at the palace at Galatas. Here, the presence of Landscape paintings might suggest that the function of the building overall was more in line with the function of a very large and very wealthy villa, rather than a palace.² Given that the palace itself was likely imposed by the centre at Knossos, rather than an indigenous development, as at other palace sites such as Phaistos, it does not seem entirely implausible that its function would have served the administrative centre in much the same way as its counterparts throughout its Knossian hinterland.

¹ That said, monkeys have not been published from any other site on Crete at all. The nearest comparanda come from the settlement of Akrotiri and other islands in the Cyclades, which is beyond the scope of this study.

² Though it is generally accepted that Galatas was a palace, based on the presence of a central court, it should be noted that there are other instances of central courts in buildings that are not palaces, as is the case with Building T at Kommos (Rehak and Younger 1998, 394).

Exceptions aside, there are some commonalities between each of the sites in which Landscape Frescoes do appear. First and foremost, they are generally in rooms that are not easily accessible to the general public. What this suggests in terms of their exact functions remains unclear, though it would suggest that a higher degree of status or privilege was required in order to have access to them. In the two palace-centres of Knossos and Zakros, those frescoes which were found in areas of restricted access, in these instances, the Lustral Basins, there seemed to be a distinctly religious function. This could serve to reinforce the idea that Landscape Frescoes were connected to some sort of religious ideology, especially if we accept that the female figure in the Ayia Triada fresco is a goddess-figure.

On the other hand, not all villas had Landscape Frescoes. Unfortunately, there does not seem to be a geographical reason for the presence of Landscapes in some villas and not others; for example, nature scenes appear at Amnissos but not at Nirou Khani, though these two sites are the closest to each other in terms of geographical distance than any other sites. Also, Landscapes appear in the villa at Epano Zakros, in East Crete, but do not appear in sites that are much closer to Knossos, such as Nirou Khani. And so, though some potentially meaningful observations have been made based on this study, far more questions remain than have been answered.

An expansion of this study to encompass a broader geographic area and wider chronological context might help to answer some of these questions. The inclusion of comparanda in other types of archaeological evidence would certainly go a long way toward supporting or refuting some of the theories presented here. In the future, I would like to expand this study to include a comparison with ceramic evidence, and seals and

sealings, in addition to a more in depth study of the associated architecture. This would allow for a better understanding of the regional patterns observed in the wall paintings in a more comprehensive context. In addition, I would like to include in this study all of the wall painting fragments from the Final and Postpalatial periods on Crete, as well as those fragments and paintings from Akrotiri, as well as the other Cycladic islands, the Mycenaean mainland, and the Near East, in order to gain a better understanding of the regional dynamics of travelling artists throughout the Aegean. By expanding the body of evidence to include the Cyclade, the Mainland and the Near East, as well as later periods, it may be possible to further track the patterns established within this study and better understand how it would fit into a greater Mediterranean context. By comparing and contrasting the findings presented here with ceramics and seals and sealings, it becomes possible to better contextualise the painted plaster evidence as a part of a cultural and political whole for Neopalatial Crete. Thus, it may be possible, by expanding the study in these ways, to answer some of the questions that I was unable to answer with the current body of data.

For the purpose of this study, however, the patterns have been defined and explained inasmuch as the evidence allows. In addition, the fresco material that has been catalogued will allow for greater access to the painted plaster material for future studies in Minoan wall painting. Perhaps an answer to some of the questions posed by this study can be better answered in the future, in conjunction with material yet to published and yet to be discovered.

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TABLES

Table 1
Minoan Chronology

Absolute Date	Architectural Phase	Relative Date
c. 3000 BCE	Prepalatial >destructions at EM sites	EM I – EM III >EM II
c. 2000 BCE	Protopalatial >destruction of old palaces, possible by earthquakes	MM I – MM II >MM II/III
c. 1700 BCE	Neopalatial Period >Palace at Knossos rebuilt after earthquake.	MM III A – MM IIIB
c. 1600 BCE		> LM IA
c. 1500 BCE		LM IB
c. 1450 BCE	Final Palatial Period -Destruction of all Minoan Palaces except Knossos -Mycenaeans at Knossos?	LM II
c. 1375 BCE	Post palatial Period -Final Destruction of Palace at Knossos	LM IIIA

***Chronology is based on the table presented in Immerwahr 1990, fig. 3.**

Table 2

Motif categories observed per sample at Chania (CH)
(abbreviations available in Appendices 2 and 3)

Ref	Provenance	Date	Motifs							Relief	Type
			AB	AN	HU	MA	OB	TE	VE		
CH001	Kastelli	LM IA			*			*		*	Human
CH002	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH003	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH004	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH005	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH006	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH007	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH008	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH009	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH010	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH011	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH012	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH013	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH014	Pit E	MM III–LM IA									Monochrome
CH015	Ayia Aikaterini	MM I/II									Monochrome

(*) denotes the presence of that category of motif

Table 3: Motif categories observed per sample from the Mesara: Phaistos (PH), Ayia Triada (AT) and Kommos (KO)

Ref	Provenance	Date	Motifs							Relief	Type
			AB	AN	HU	MA	OB	TE	VE		
PH001	MM House	MM IIIB	*								Abstract
PH002	Room LIV	Protopalatial	*								Abstract
PH003	Palace	Protopalatial	*								Abstract
PH004	N. Central Court	LM I	*								Abstract
PH005	MM House	MM IIIB	*								Abstract
PH006	unknown	Protopalatial	*								Abstract
PH007	unknown	Protopalatial	*								Abstract
PH008	Fresco dump	MM?	*								Abstract
PH009	Grande Frana	MM II?	*								Abstract
PH010	Palace	MM III	*								Abstract
PH011	Chalara	MM/LM							*		Vegetal
PH012	Palace	MM II	*								Abstract
PH013	Palace	MM ?	*								Abstract
PH014	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH015	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH016	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH017	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH018	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH019	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH020	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
PH021	Palace	MM?	*								Abstract
AT003	Room 14	LM I		*					*		Nature
AT004	Room 14	LM I	*		*			*	*		Nature
KO001	Building T	LM I	*								Abstract
KO002	Building X	LM IB	*				*		*		Nature
KO003	Building X	LM I					*				Nature

(*) denotes the presence of that category of motif

Table 4

Motif categories observed per sample from Archanes (AR)
(abbreviations available in Appendices 2 and 3)

Ref	Provenance	Date	Motifs							Relief	Type
			AB	AN	HU	MA	OB	TE	VE		
AR001	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR002	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR003	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR004	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA	*								Abstract
AR005	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA	*						*		Nature
AR006	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR007	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA	*								Abstract
AR008	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA		*							Miniature
AR009	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA				*					Miniature
AR010	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR011	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR012	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR013	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*		Nature
AR014	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA			*						Human
AR015	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA				*				*	
AR016	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA							*	*	
AR017	Tourk. – Area 19	LM IA		*						*	

(*) denotes the presence of that category of motif

Table 5

Motif categories observed per sample from East Crete: Pseira (PS), Palaikastro (PK), and Zakros (ZA)

Ref	Provenance	Date	Motifs							Relief	Type
			AB	AN	HU	MA	OB	TE	VE		
PS001	Building AC	LM I			*					*	Human
PS002	Building AC	LM I			*					*	Human
PS003	Building AC	LM I	*					*		*	Human
PS004	Building AC	LM I	*							*	Human
PS005	Building AC	LM I	*							*	Human
PS006	Building AC	LM I	*							*	Human
PS007	Building AC	LM I	*							*	Human
PS008	Building AC	LM I	*							*	Human
PS009	Building AC	LM I			*					*	Human
PS010	Building AC	LM I			*					*	Human
PS011	Building AC	LM I			*					*	Human
PS012	Building AC	LM I	*		*					*	Human
PK001	Block E, Rm 18	LM I							*		Textile
PK002	Block E, Rm 18	LM I	*		*					*	Human
PK003	Building 6	MM IIIB							*		Vegetal
PK004	Building 6	MM IIIB?		*							Mythological
PK005	Building 6	MM IIIB?	*								Abstract
ZA001	Banqueting Hall	LM I	*							*	Abstract
ZA002	New Palace	LM I									Abstract
ZA003	Lustral Basin	LM I					*				
ZA004	Epano Zakros	LM I?							*		Nature
ZA005	Epano Zakros	LM I?							*		Nature
ZA006	Epano Zakros	LM I?									Nature

(*) denotes the presence of that category of motif

Table 6

Regional Distribution of specific motifs by site
(abbreviations available in Appendices 2 and 3)

MOTIF CATEGORIES

	<i>AB</i>	<i>AN</i>	<i>AR</i>	<i>HU</i>	<i>MA</i>	<i>MO</i>	<i>OB</i>	<i>TE</i>	<i>VE</i>
West Crete									
<i>CH</i>				01		01		03	
Central Crete									
Mesara									
<i>PH</i>	01, 02, 07, 08, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 24, 26, 27, 29, 30					01			01, 04
<i>AT</i>	23	01, 03, 04	01	01				02	02, 03, 09
<i>KO</i>	13, 14						09		03
Pediada									
<i>AM</i>	07, 13, 14, 29								01, 02, 03, 09
<i>AR</i>	10, 26	01		01	03, 04				01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 09, 10
<i>GA</i>	13, 17								04, 07
<i>KA</i>	13, 19, 26	01							
<i>NK</i>							06		
<i>PR</i>				01					10
<i>TY</i>				01, 02					01, 10
<i>MA</i>	02, 13, 14, 18, 29			03					04
East Crete									
<i>PK</i>	28, 29	07		03					02, 07
<i>PS</i>	02, 12, 13, 19, 20, 26			01, 03				02	
<i>ZA</i>	18, 20						05		03, 04, 06

Table 7

Motifs present at the palace of Knossos (KN), the House of the Frescoes (HF) and the Unexplored Mansion (UM) (abbreviations available in Appendices 2 and 3)

MOTIF CATEGORIES

	<i>AB</i>	<i>AN</i>	<i>AR</i>	<i>HU</i>	<i>MA</i>	<i>MO</i>	<i>OB</i>	<i>TE</i>	<i>VE</i>
<i>KN</i>	01, 02, 04, 05, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 32	01, 02, 05, 06, 07, 08	01	01, 02, 03,	02, 03		01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 07, 08, 09, 10	01	01, 02, 03, 04, 05, 06, 07, 08, 10
<i>HF</i>	13	01, 04, 06			04			01	02, 04
<i>UM</i>	13, 20, 26, 27, 30, 31					01	09		01, 03, 06, 07

Table 8

Motif categories observed per sample at the House of the Frescoes (HF) and the Unexplored Mansion (UM)
(abbreviations available in Appendices 2 and 3)

Ref	Provenance	Date	Motifs							Relief	Type
			AB	AN	HU	MA	OB	TE	VE		
HF001	n/a	n/a	*								n/a
HF002	n/a	LMIB						*	*		n/a
HF003	Room D	MMIIB		*							Nature
HF004	Rooms E/F	MMIIB		*					*		Nature
HF005	n/a	n/a				*					n/a
UM001	Room P	LMIB	*								Nature
UM002	Room P	LMIB	*								Nature
UM003	Room P	LMIB	*								Nature
UM004	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM005	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM006	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM007	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM008	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM009	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM010	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM011	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM012	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM013	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM014	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM015	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM016	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM017	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM018	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature

UM019	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM020	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM021	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM022	Room P	LMIB							*		Nature
UM023	Room P	LMIB	*						*		Nature
UM024	Room P	LMIA	*								Nature
UM025	Room C	MM IIIA	*								
UM026	Room C	MM IIIB	*								
UM027	Room H	MM IIIA	*								
UM028	Room H	MM III	*								
UM029	Corridor L	MM IIIA					*				Nature
UM030	Corridor L	LM IA							*		
UM031	Corridor L	LM IA	*								
UM032	Room M	MM IIIA or B	*								
UM033	Stairwell N-O	MM IIIA or B	*								
UM034	Room O	LM II or earlier	*								
UM035	North Platform	MM IIIA	*								
UM036	South Corridor	MM IIIB	*								
UM037	South Corridor	MM IIIB	*								
UM038	South Corridor	MM IIIB									Monochrome
UM039	South Corridor	MM IIIB									Monochrome

(*) denotes the presence of that category of motif

Table 9
Distribution of specific motifs by site (abbreviations available in Appendices 2 and 3)

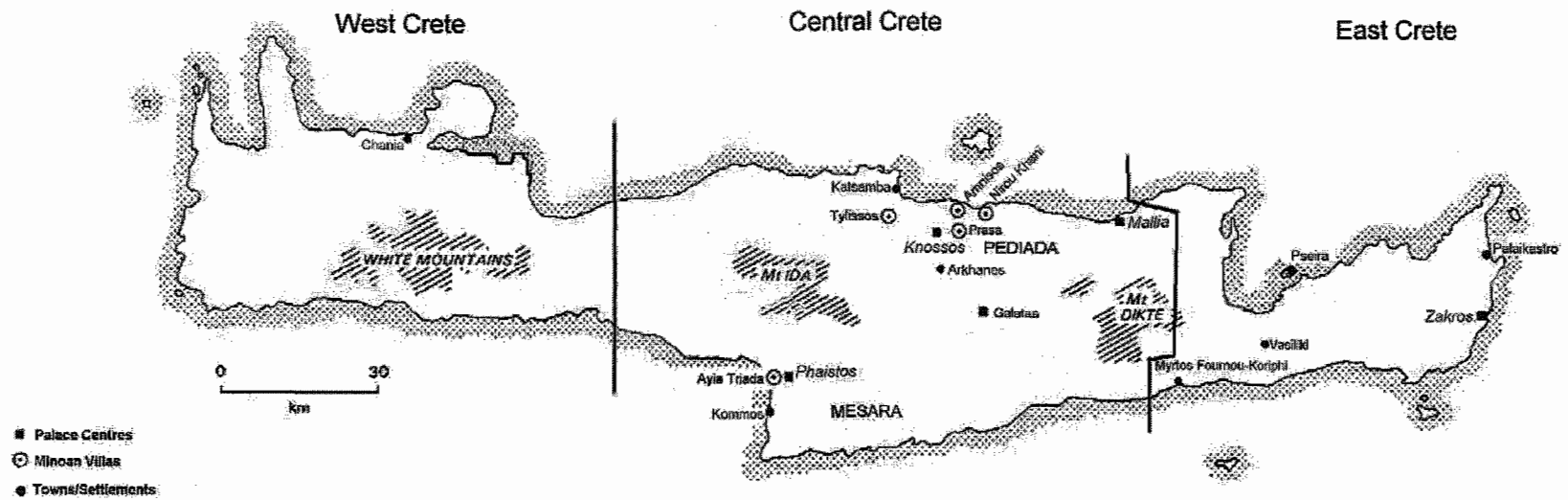
ABSTRACT MOTIFS																																	
Site	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	1 0	1 1	1 2	1 3	1 4	1 5	1 6	1 7	1 8	1 9	2 0	2 1	2 2	2 3	2 4	2 5	2 6	2 7	2 8	2 9	3 0	3 1	3 2	
PH	*	*					*	*					*	*	*	*	*	*		*				*		*	*		*	*			
KN	*	*	*	*	*	*			*		*	*	*	*	*	*		*		*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*		*
GA													*				*																
MA		*											*	*				*											*				
ZA																		*		*													
AT																							*										
AM							*						*	*															*				
NK																																	
HF													*																				
TY																																	
UM													*							*						*	*			*	*		
CH																																	
KO													*	*																			
AR									*																		*						
KA													*						*								*						
PR																																	
PK																												*	*				
PS		*										*	*					*	*	*						*							

(*) denotes the presence of that motif

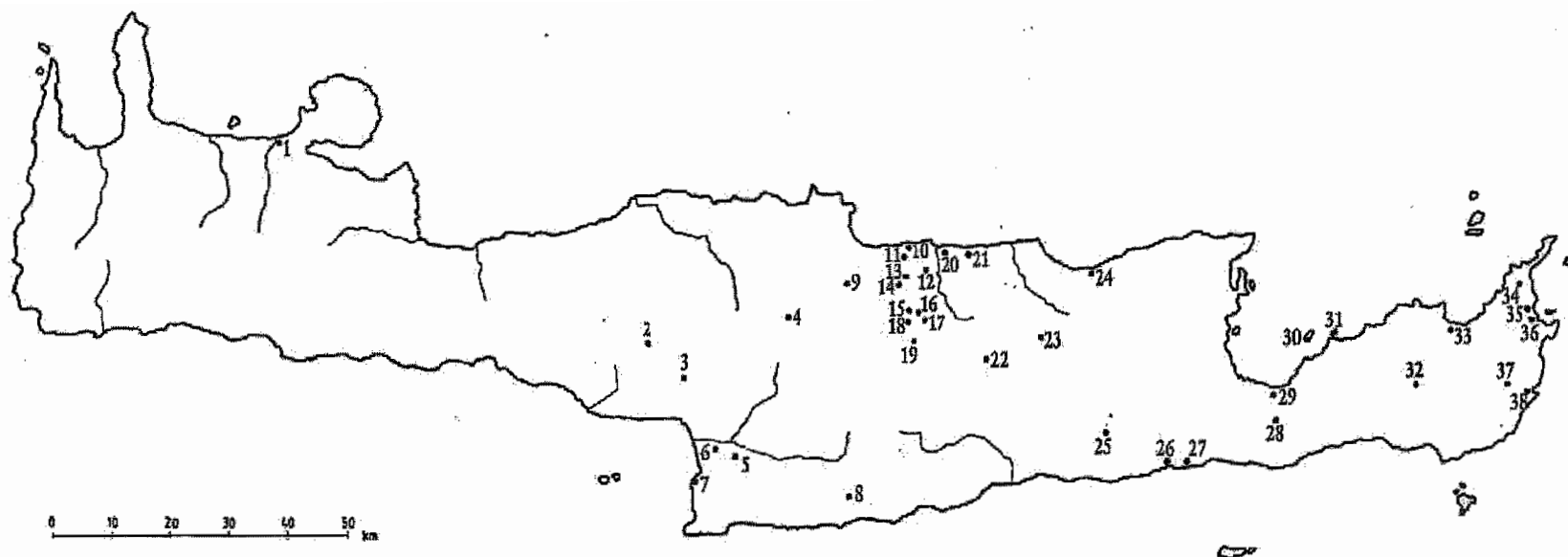
Table 9 (cont...)

ANIMAL								HUMAN				MARINE				OBJECTS										TEXTILE						
Site	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	Site	0 1	0 2	0 3	Site	0 2	0 3	0 4	Site	0 1	0 2	0 3	0 4	0 5	0 6	0 7	0 8	0 9	1 0	Site	0 1	0 2	0 3	
PH									PH				PH				PH											PH				
KN	*	*			*	*	*	*	KN	*	*	*	KN	*	*		KN	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*	KN	*		
GA									GA				GA				GA											GA				
MA									MA			?	MA				MA											MA				
ZA									ZA				ZA				ZA					*						ZA				
AT	*		*	*					AT	*			AT				AT											AT		*		
AM									AM				AM				AM											AM				
NK									NK				NK				NK					*						NK				
HF	*			*		*			HF			*	HF			*	HF											HF	*			
TY									TY	*	*		TY				TY											TY				
UM									UM				UM				UM									*		UM				
CH									CH	*			CH				CH											CH			*	
KO									KO				KO				KO									*		KO				
AR	*								AR	*			AR		*	*	AR											AR				
KA	*								KA	*			KA				KA											KA				
PR									PR	*			PR				PR											PR				
PK							*	*	PK			*	PK				PK											PK				
PS									PS	*		*	PS				PS											PS		*		

MAPS

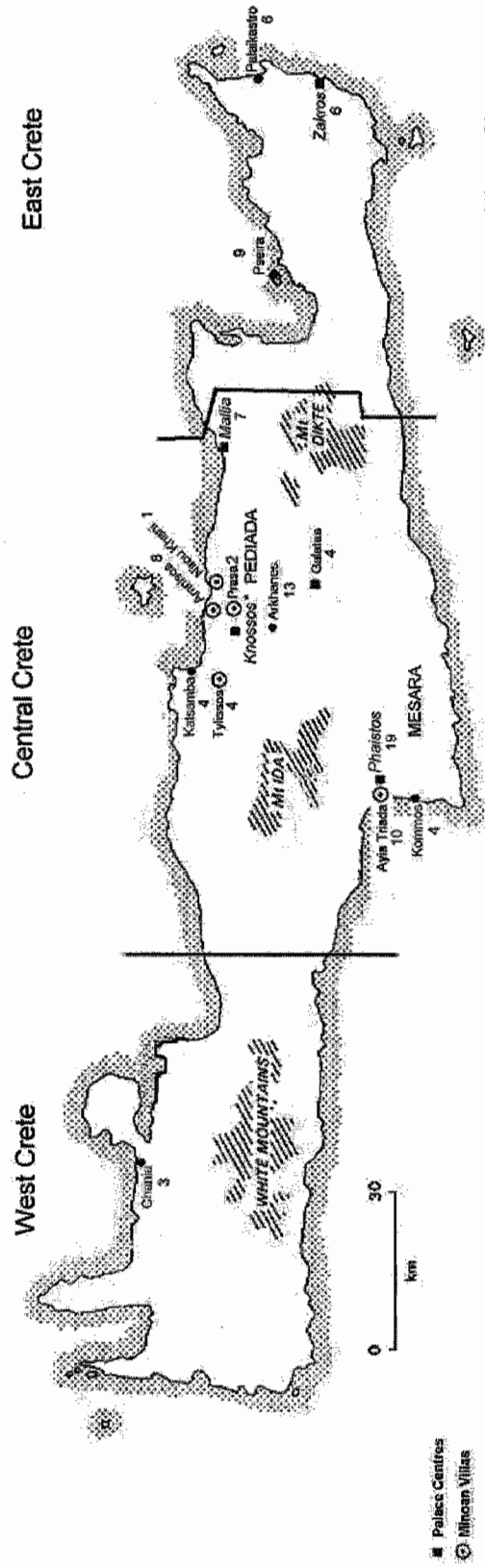


Map 1: Map of Crete showing geographic delineations and sites included in this study



- | | | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1. Chania | 9. Tylissos | 17. Archanes | 25. Symi Viannou | 32. Tourtouli |
| 2. Monastiraki | 10. Katsamba | 18. Giouchtas | 26. Pyrgos | 33. Petras |
| 3. Apodoulou | 11. Poros | 19. Vathypetro | 27. Phournou | 34. Vai |
| 4. Zominthos | 12. Prassa | 20. Amnissos | Koryphi | 35. Kouremenos |
| 5. Phaistos | 13. Knossos | 21. Nirou Chani | 28. Vasiliki | 36. Palaikastro |
| 6. Ayia Triada | 14. Ano Gypsades | 22. Galatas | 29. Gournia | 37. Koukou Kephali |
| 7. Kommos | 15. Anemospilia | 23. Kastelli Pediados | 30. Pseira | 38. Kato Zakros |
| 8. Koumasa | 16. Phourni | 24. Malia | 31. Mochlos | |

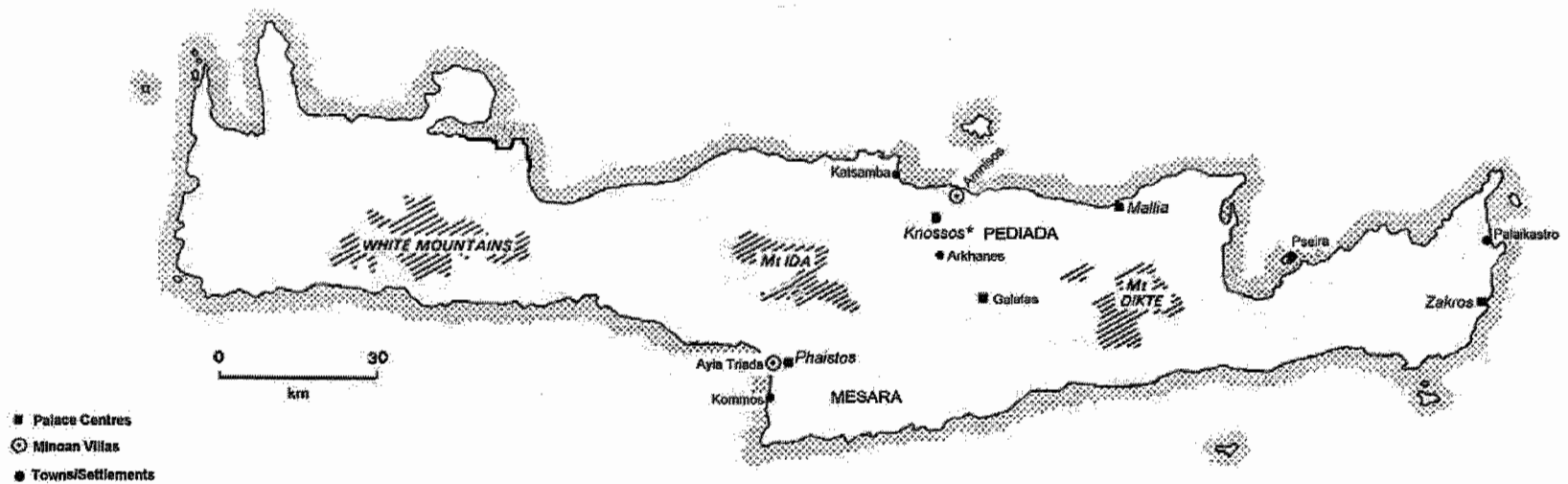
Map 2: Sites at which painted plaster has been found on Minoan Crete



* Knossos: 54
House of the Frescoes: 8
Unexplored Mansion: 12

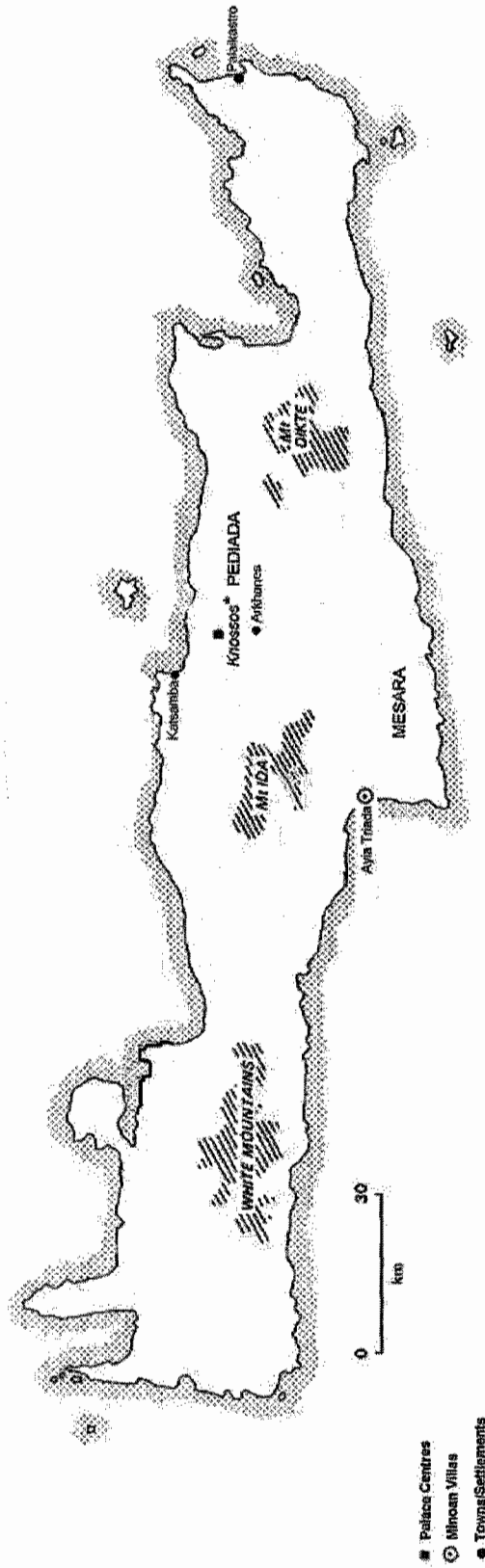
Map 3: Number of motifs (uncategorised) present by site

*This includes the palace, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes



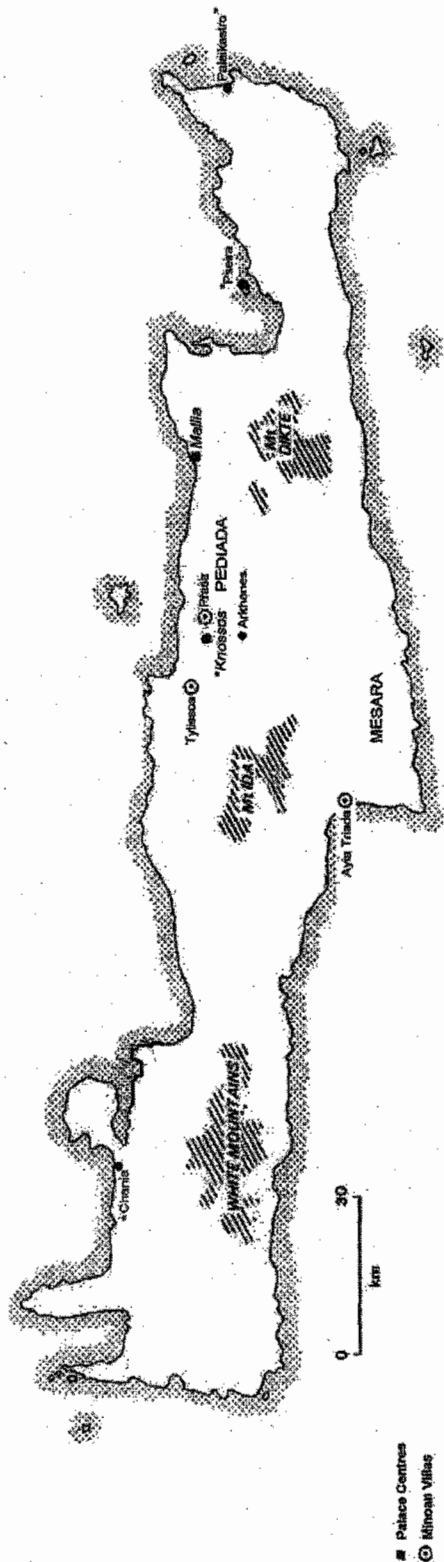
Map 4: Distribution of Abstract Motifs

*This includes the palace, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes



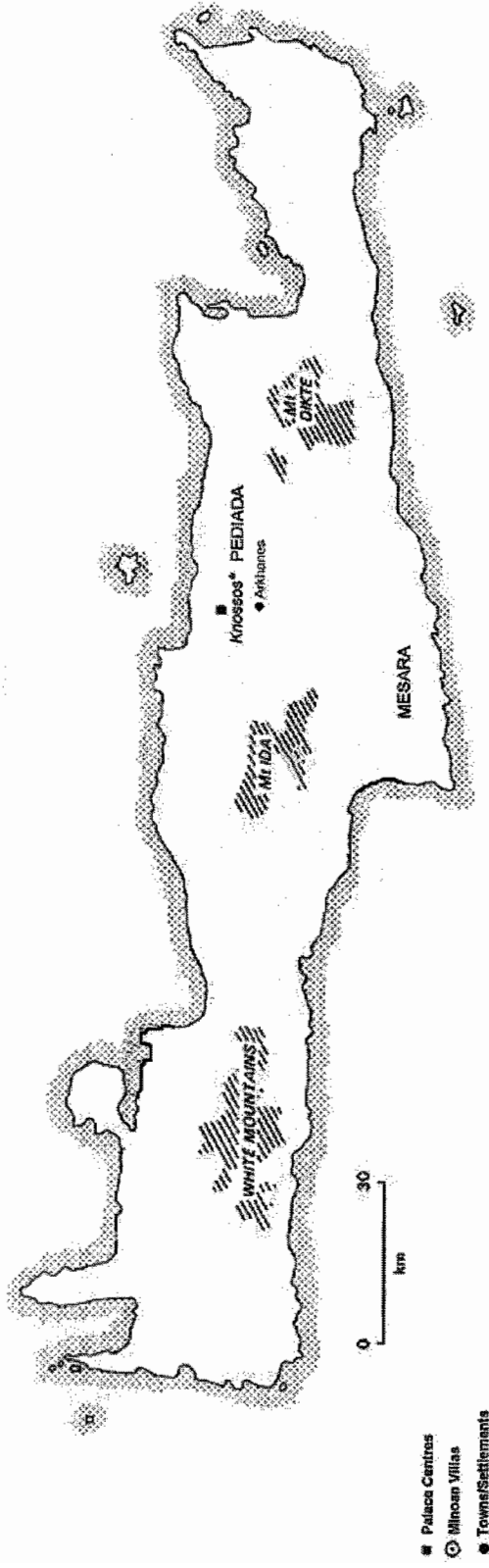
Map 5: Distribution of Animal Motifs

*Indicates sites with human figure in plaster relief



Map 6: Distribution of Human Motifs (including relief plaster*)

*This includes the palace and the House of the Frescoes

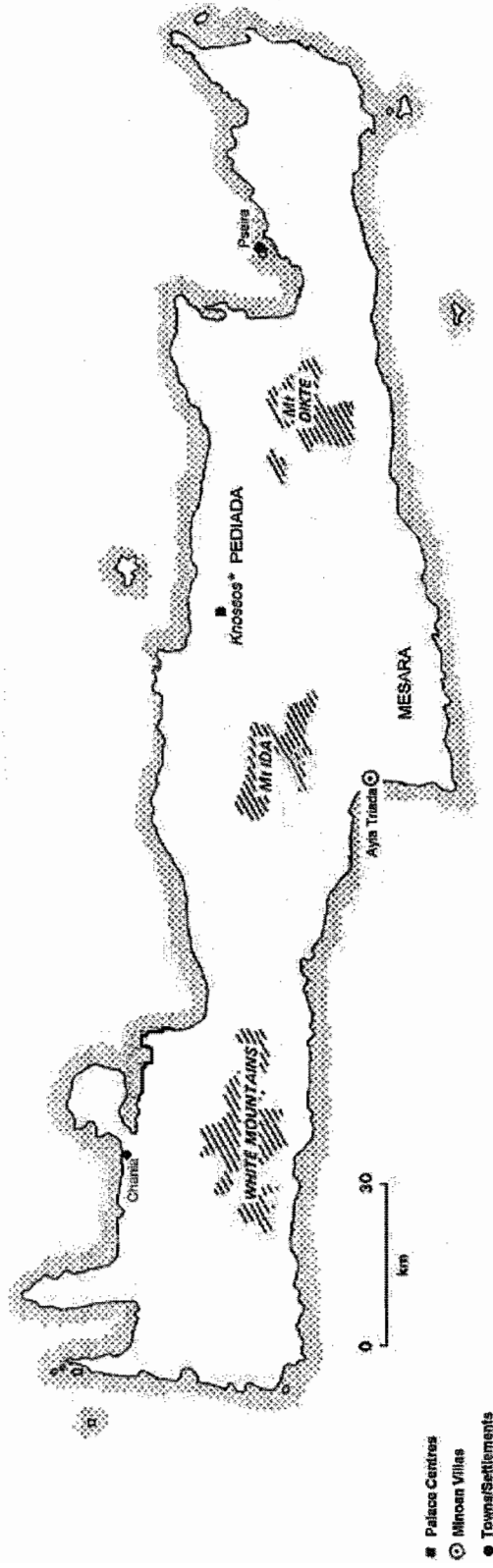


Map 7: Distribution of Marine Motifs

A map of Crete showing the locations of Knossos, Padiada, and Mesara. The map includes the White Mountains, White Mountains 2, and White Mountains 3. A scale bar indicates 0 to 30 km.

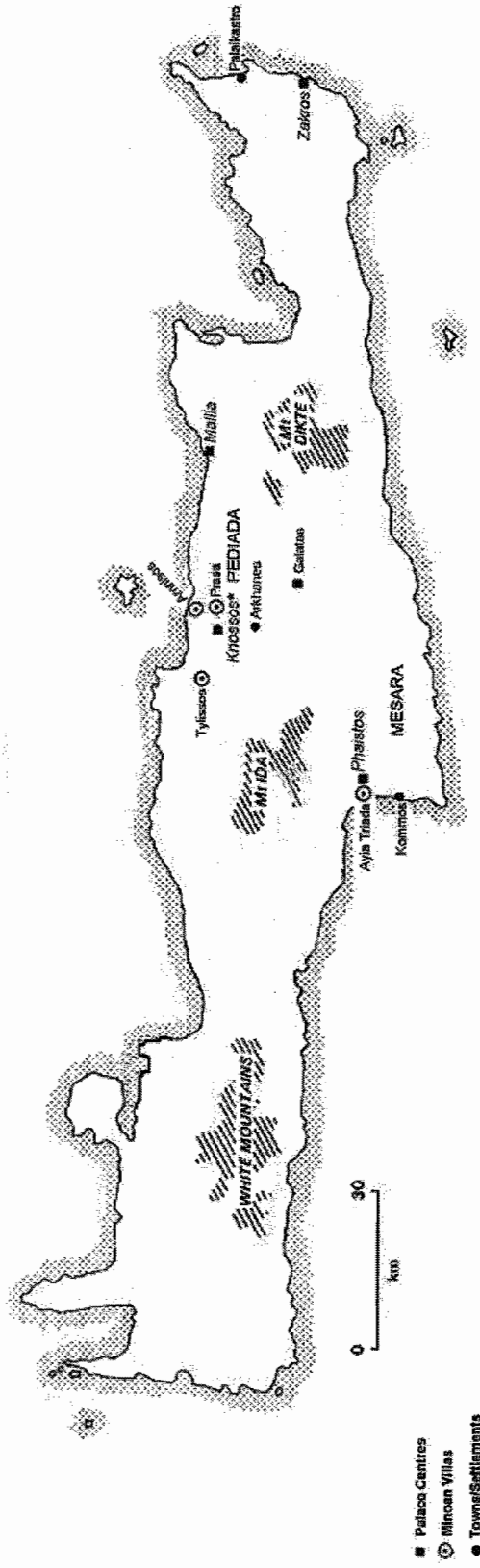
Map 8: Distribution of Object Motifs

This includes the palace and the House of the Frescoes



Map 9: Distribution of Textile Motifs

*This includes the palace, the Unexplored Mansion and the House of the Frescoes



Map 10: Distribution of Vegetal Motifs

FIGURES

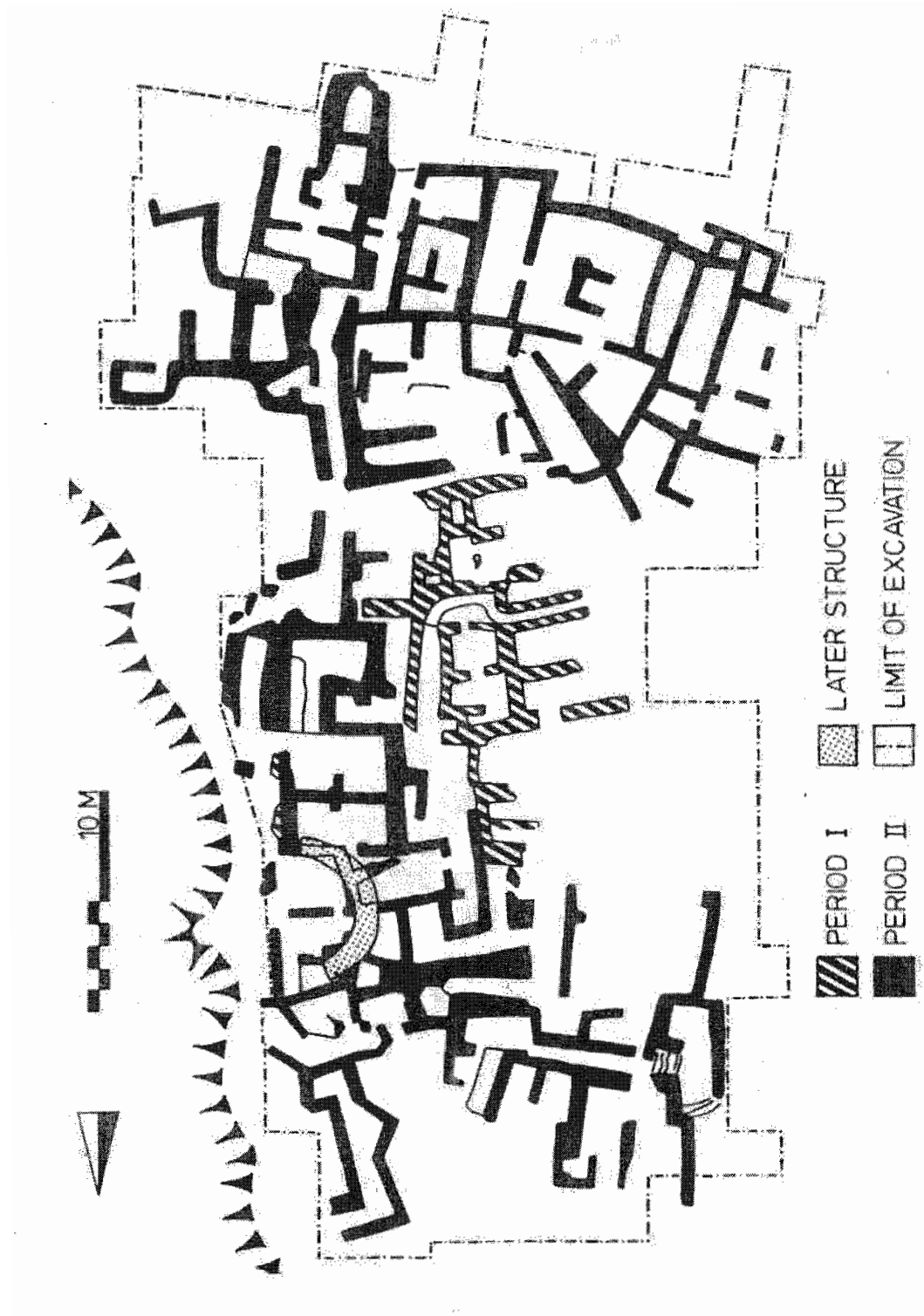


Figure 1: Site plan of Myrtos Fournou-Koriphi

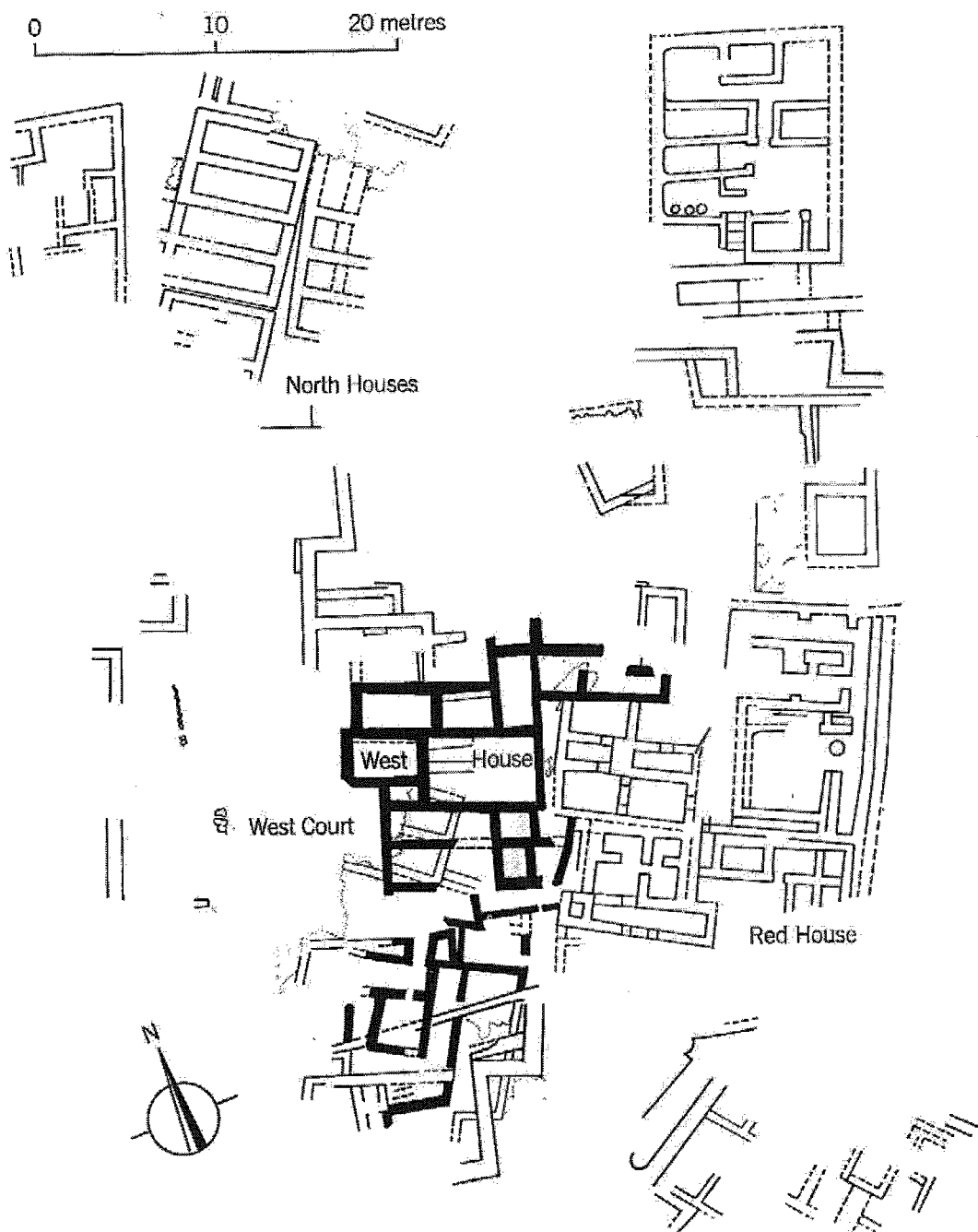


Figure 2: Site plan of Vasiliki. Red painted plaster comes from the Red House

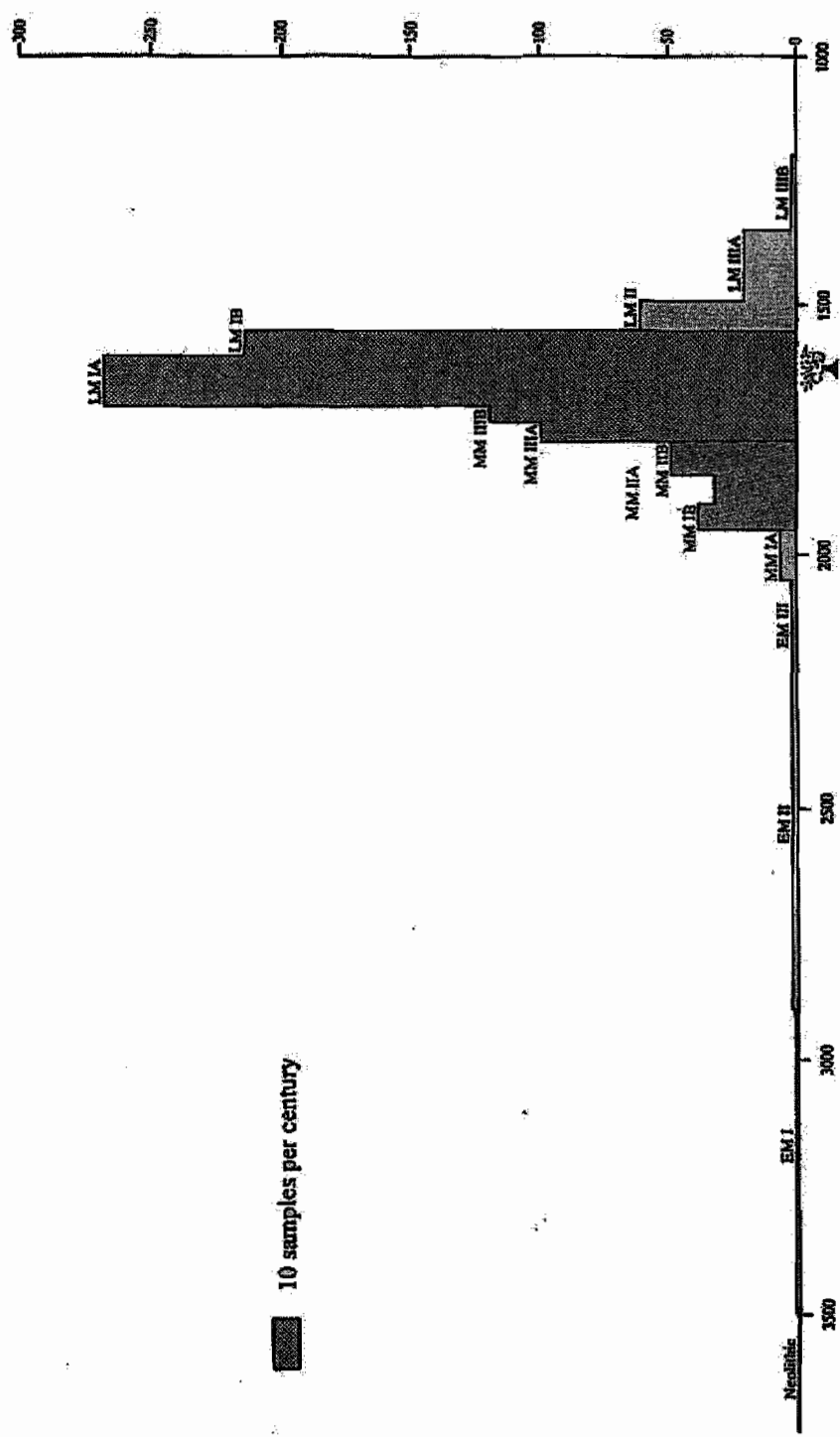


Figure 3: Chronological distribution of painted plaster on Minoan Crete

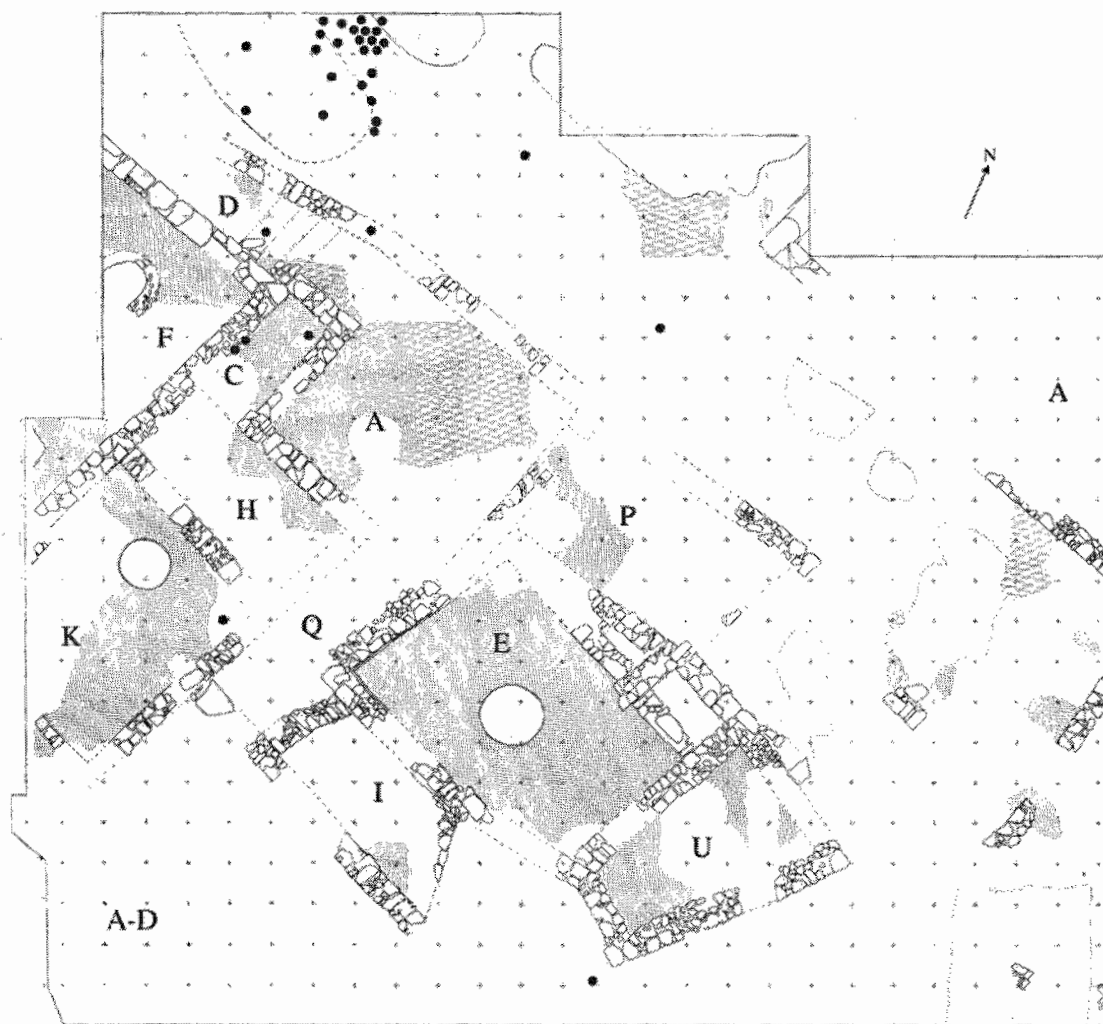


Fig 4: Site plan of Aikaterini Square Kastelli, Chania – Rubbish Area North 16, Pit E showing the location of fresco remains (•)

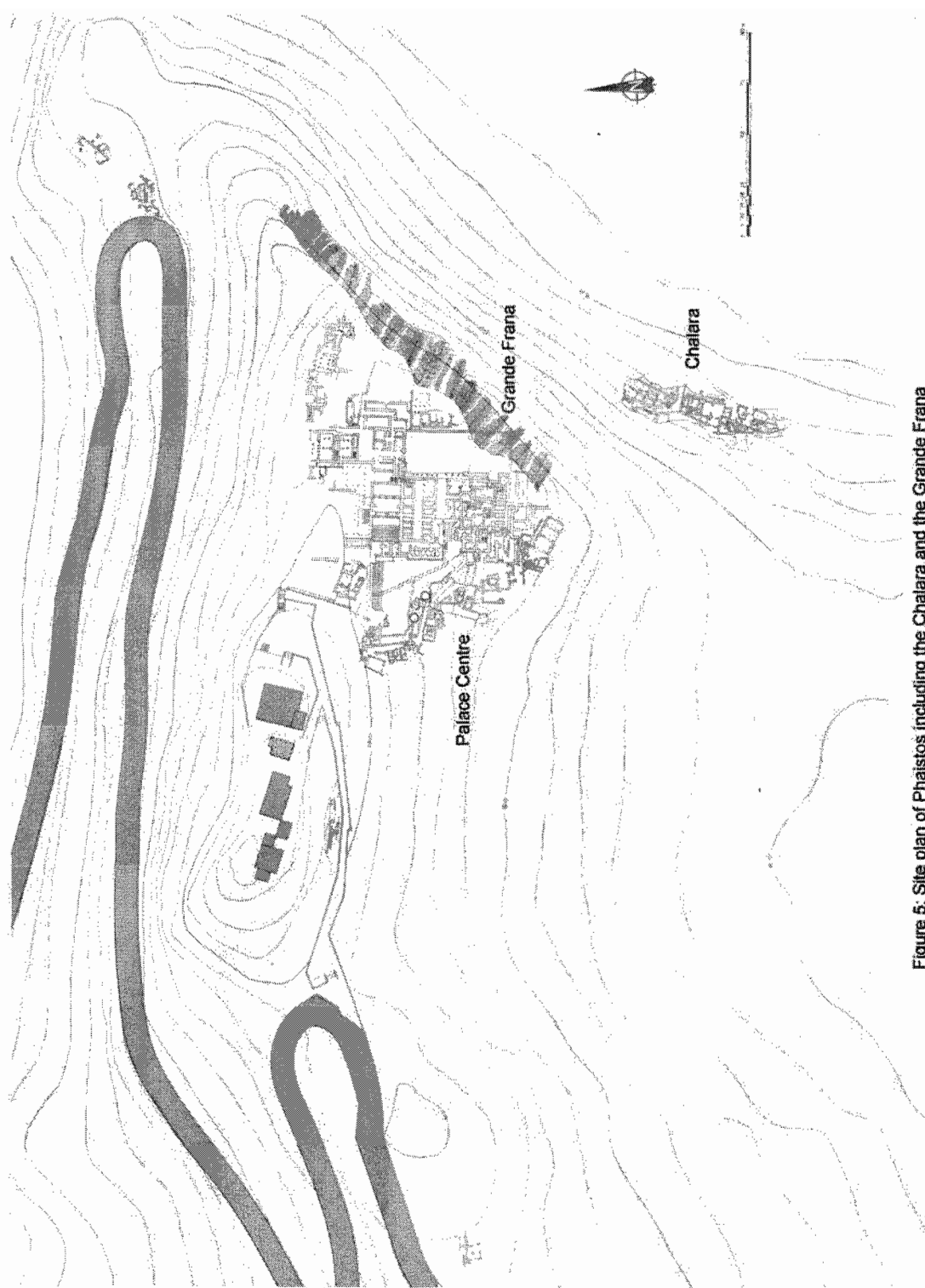


Figure 5: Site plan of Phaistos including the Chalara and the Grande Frana
(specific provenance of frescoes unknown)



Figure 6: Site plan of Ayia Triada indicating the location of fresco remains

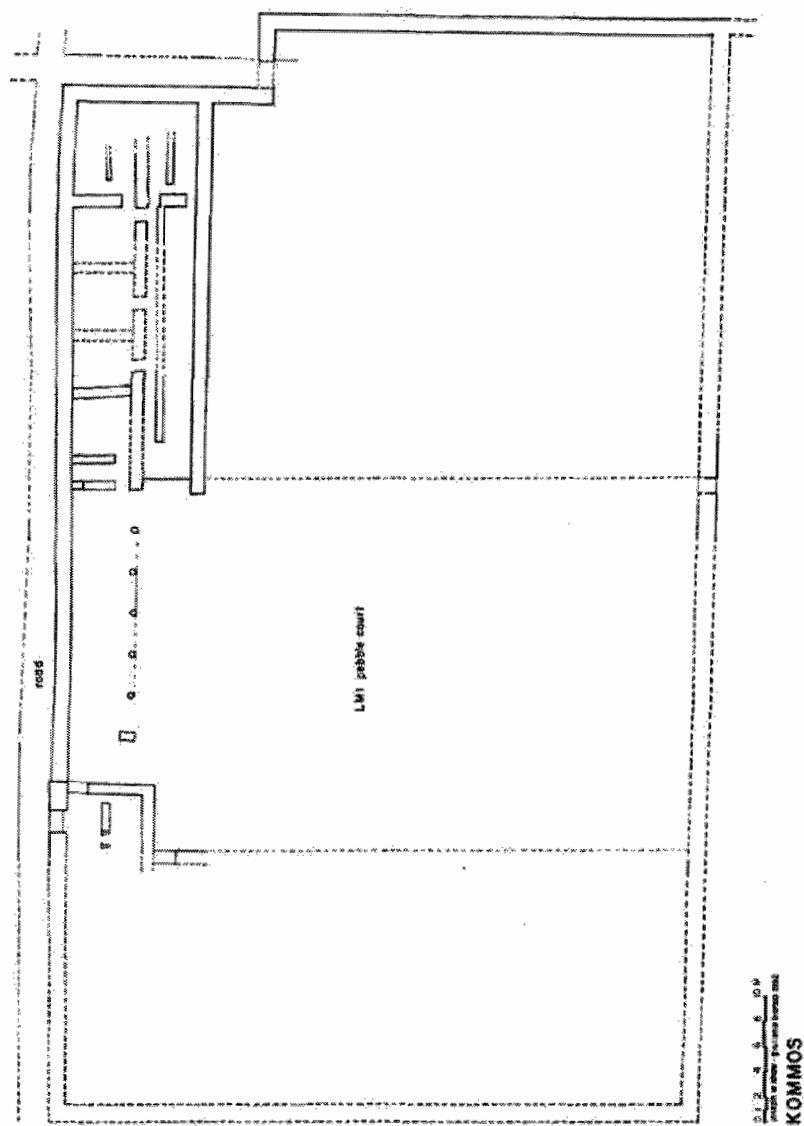


Figure 7: Site plan of Building T at Kommos
(specific provenance of frescoes unknown)

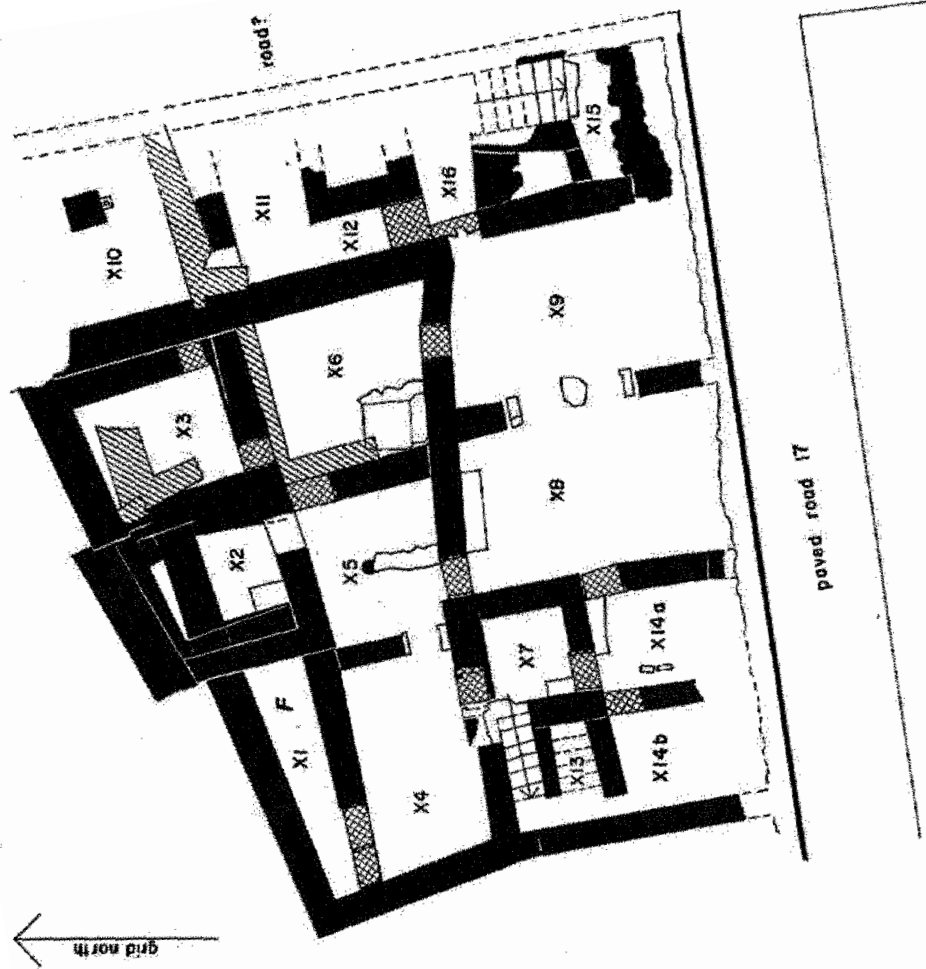


Figure 8: Plan of House X from Kommos indicating the location of fresco remains (F)

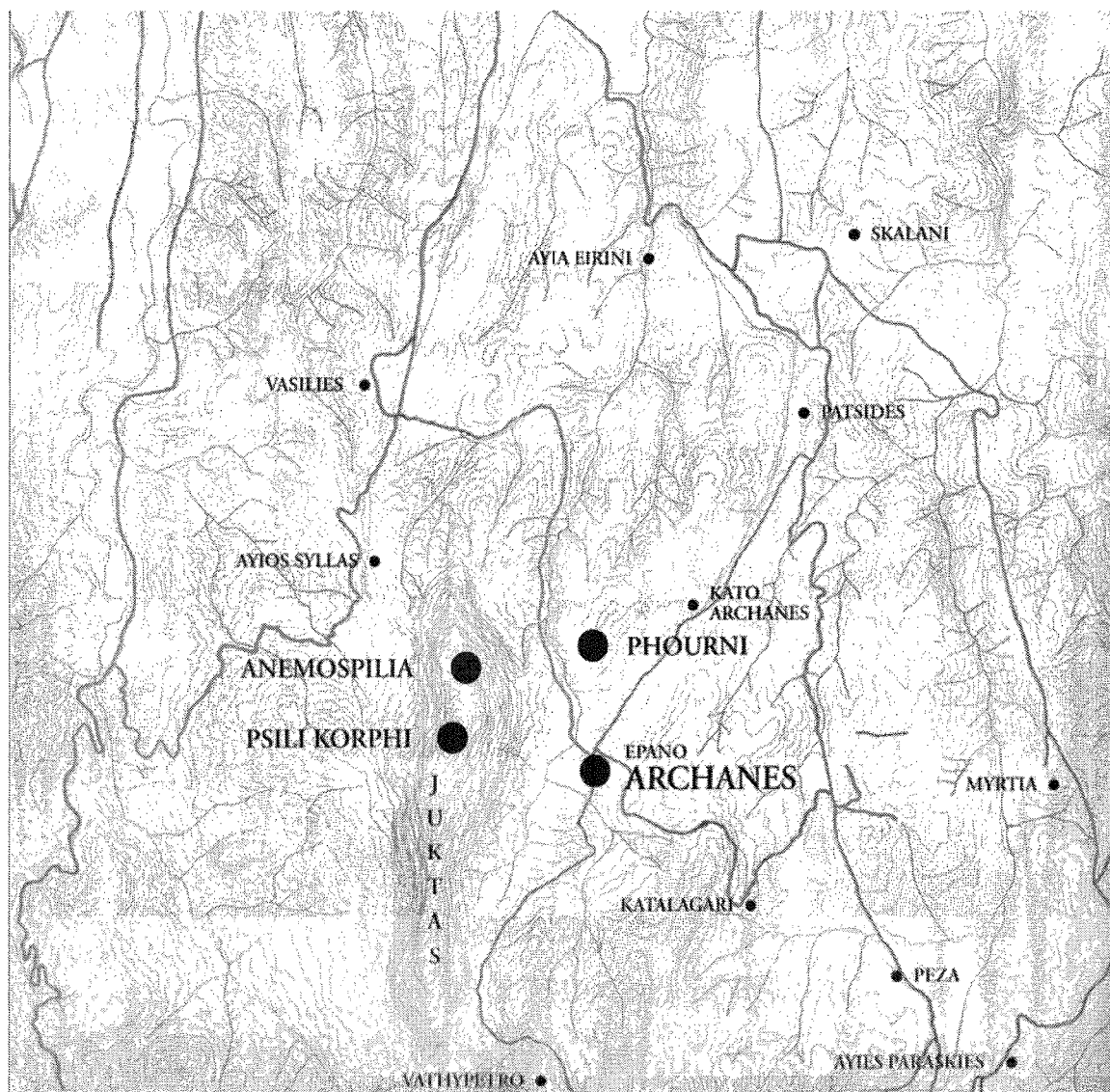


Figure 9: Site Plan of Archanes including Anemospilia and Phourni
(with Tourkoyeitionia at Epano Archanes)

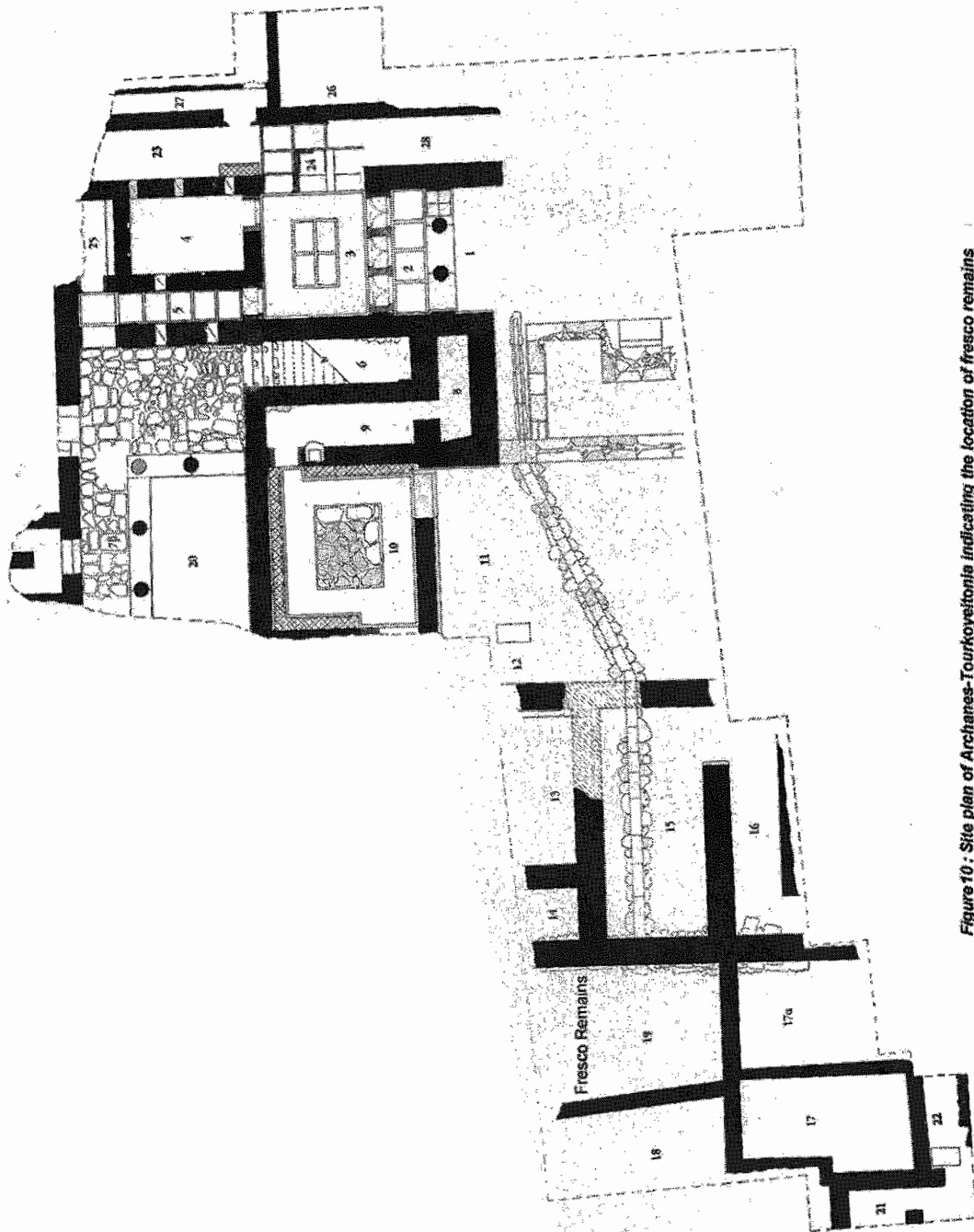


Figure 10 : Site plan of Archanes-Tourkoyestonia indicating the location of fresco remains

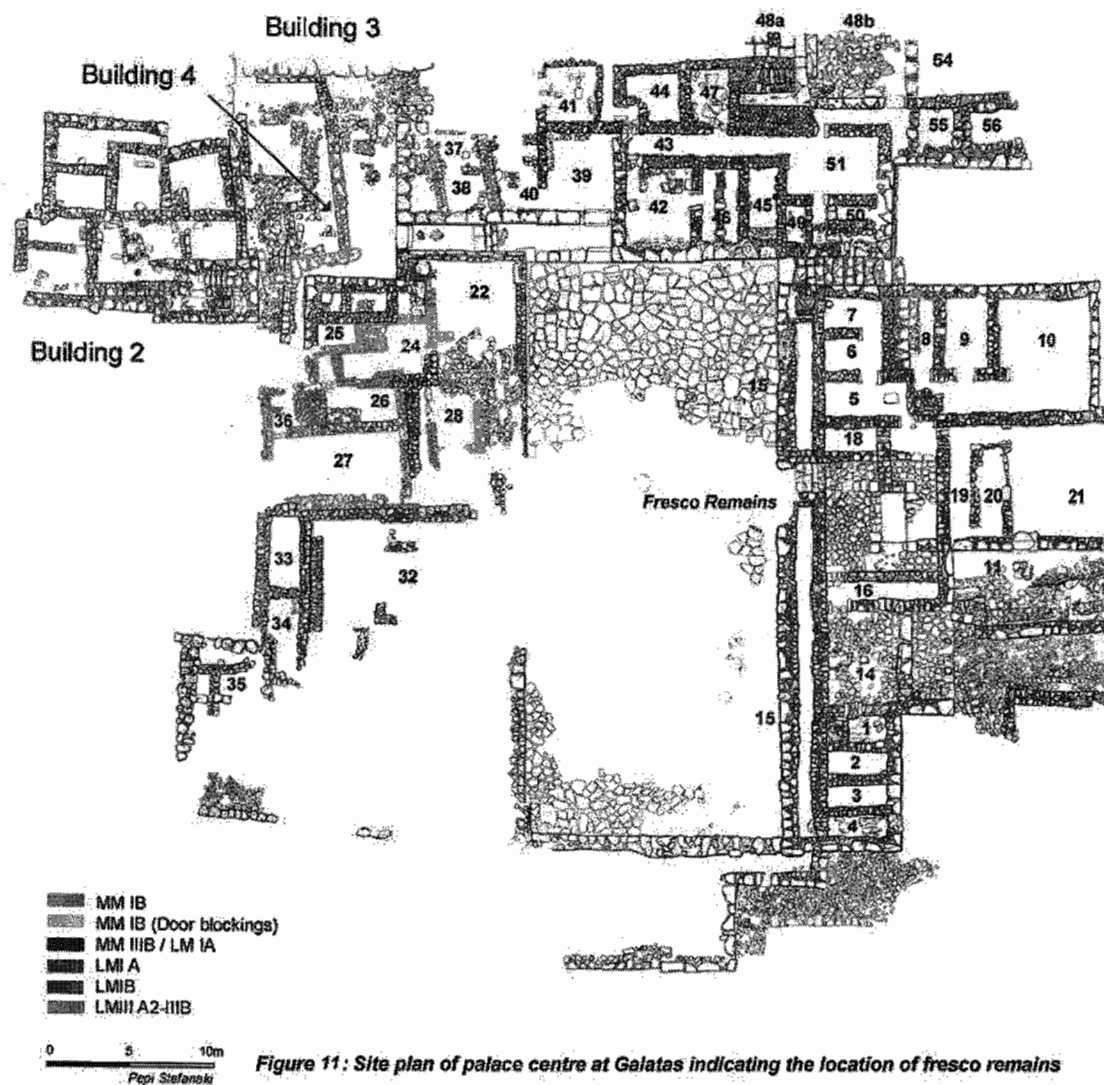


Figure 11: Site plan of palace centre at Galatas indicating the location of fresco remains

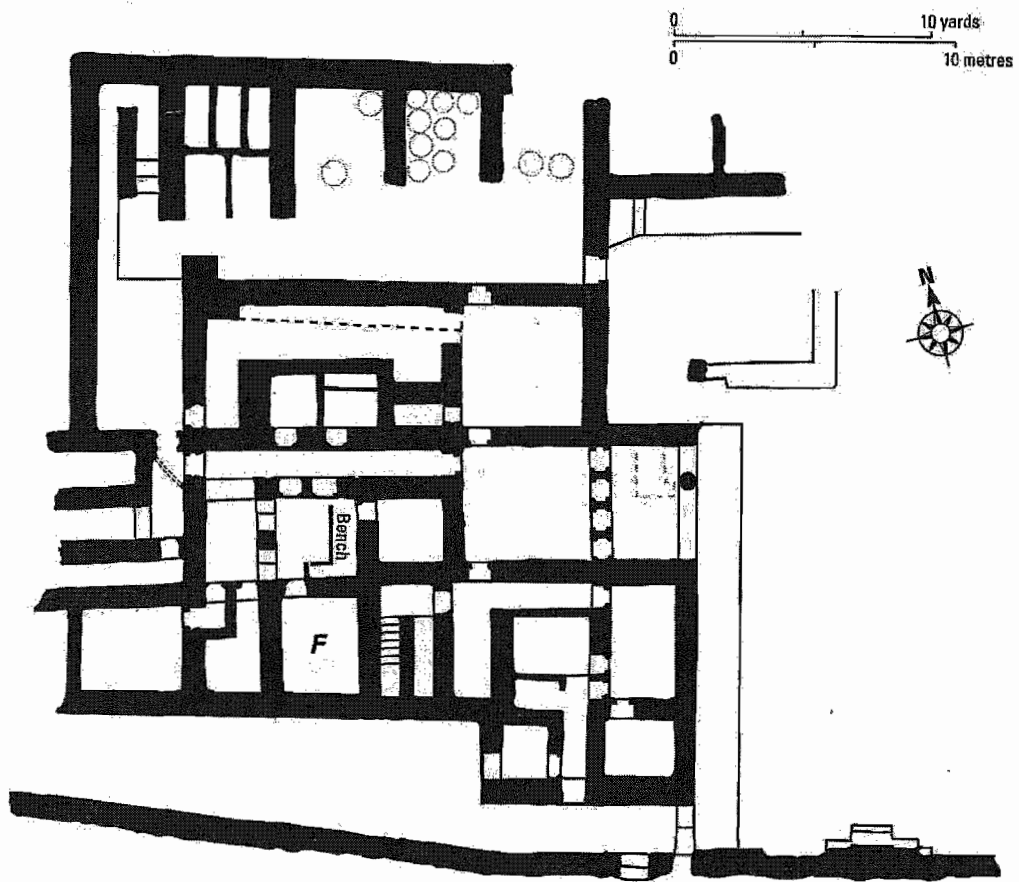


Figure 12: Site plan of Nirou Khani indicating the location of fresco remains (F)

After Xanthoudides

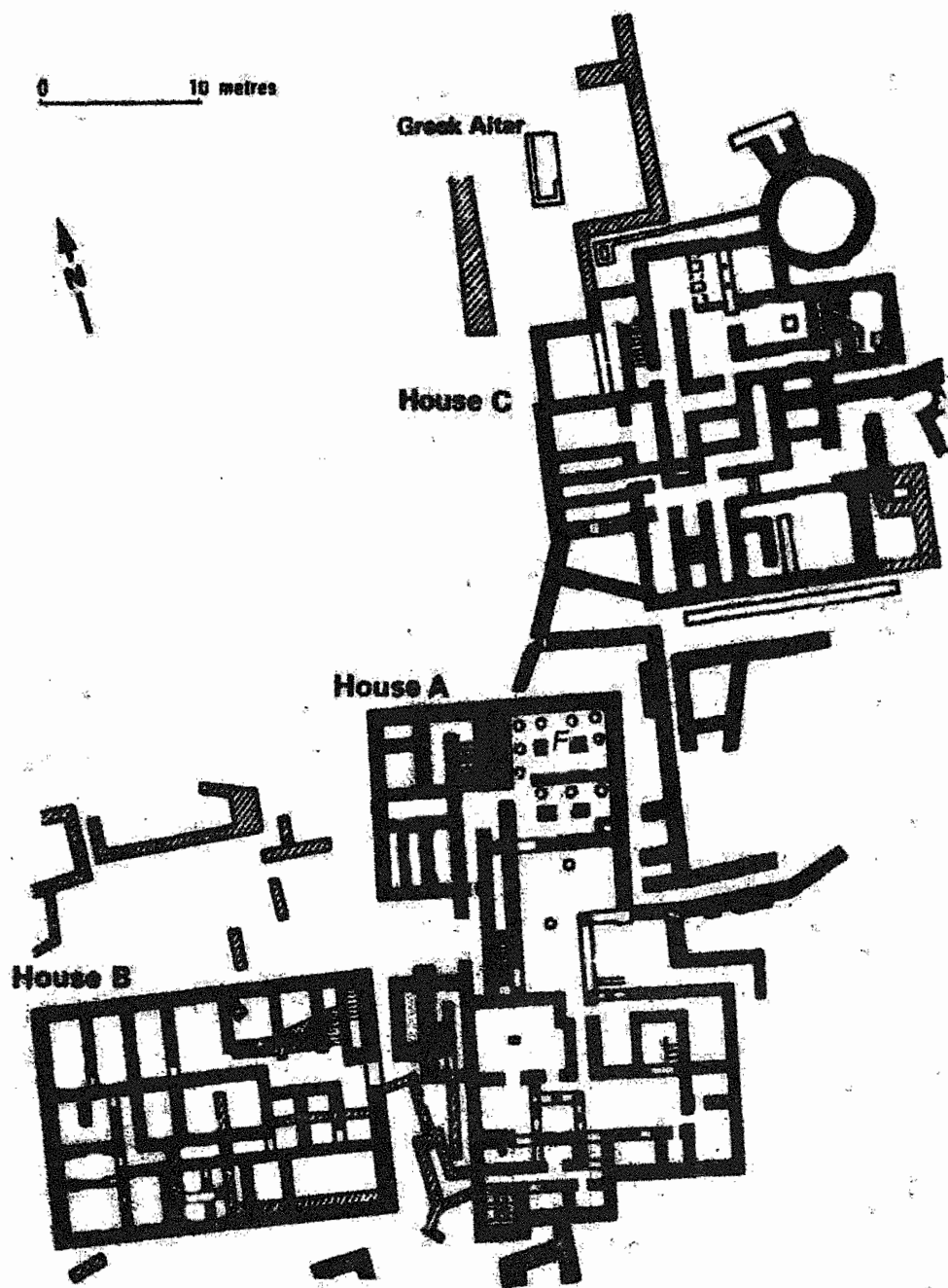


Figure 13: Site plan of Tylissos indication the location of fresco remains (F)

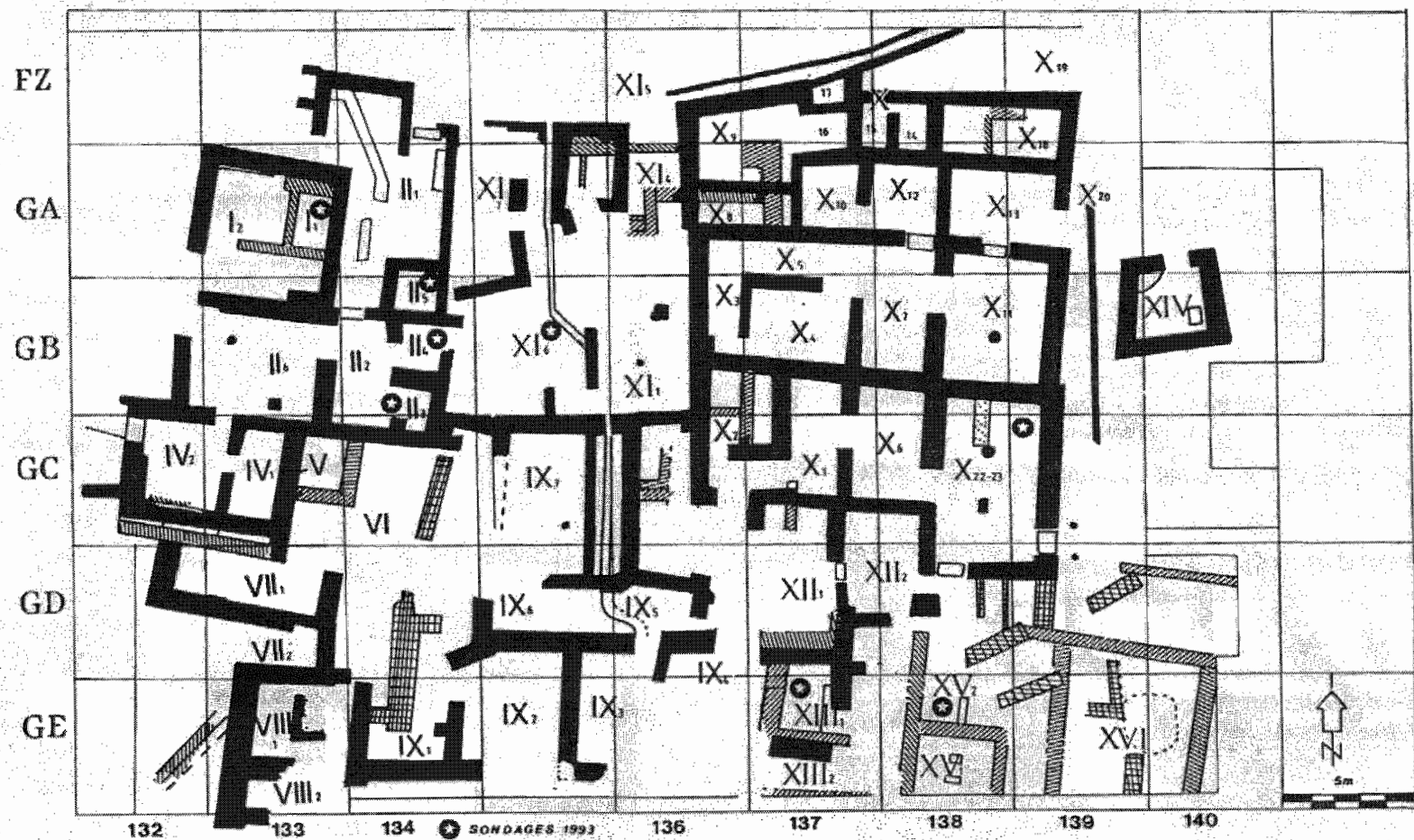


Figure 14: Site plan of Quartier Nu (Mallia)
(specific provenance of frescoes unknown)

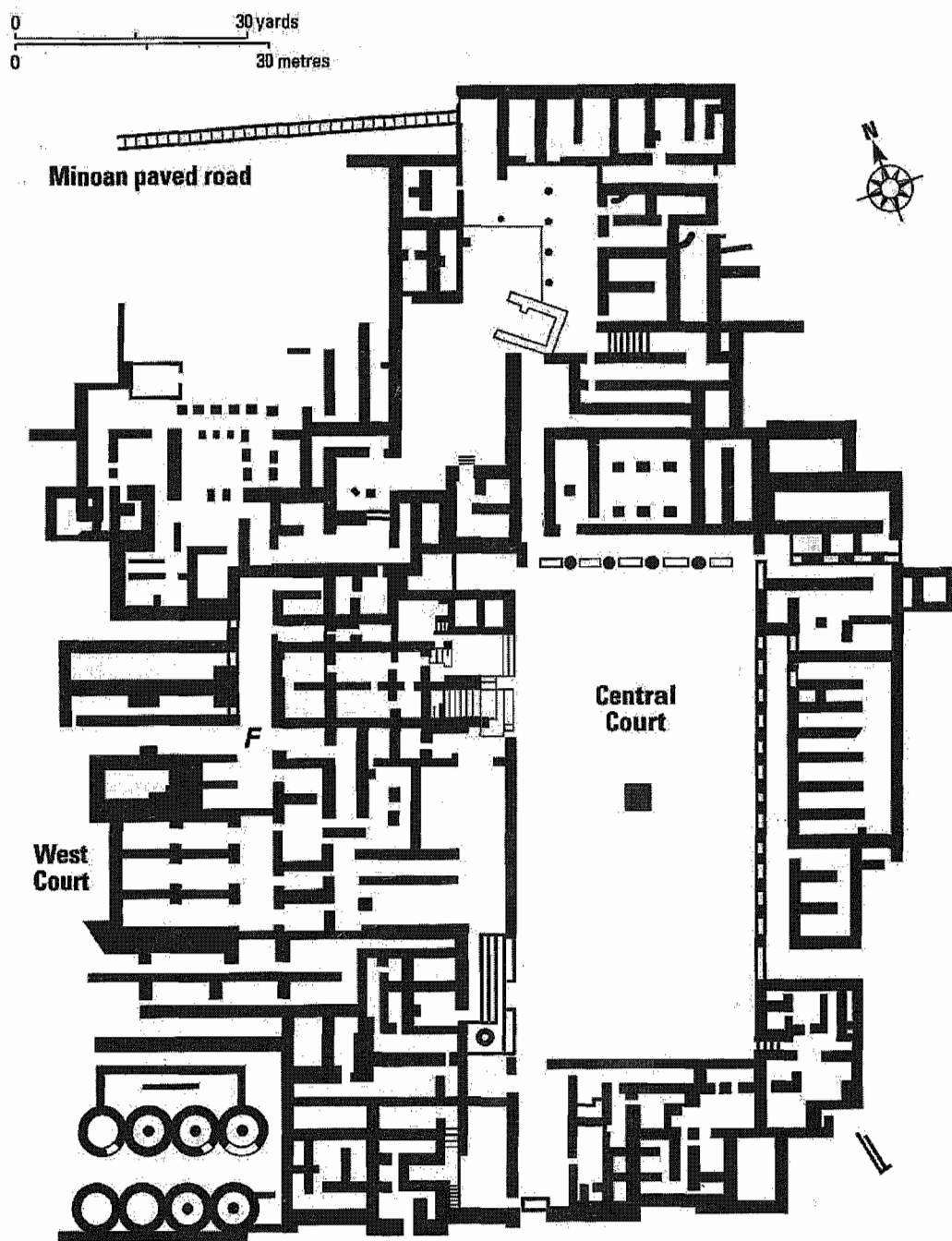
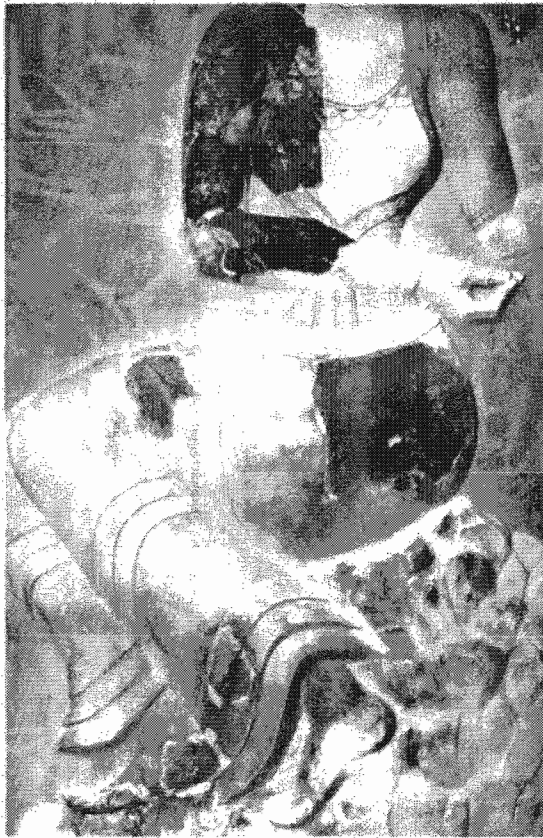


Figure 15: Site plan of the palace-centre at Mallia indicating the location of some fresco remains (F)



a



b

Figure 16 : Reconstructions of the Pseira Ladies currently on display in the Herakleion Museum
 a) Panel A Lady
 b) Panel B Lady

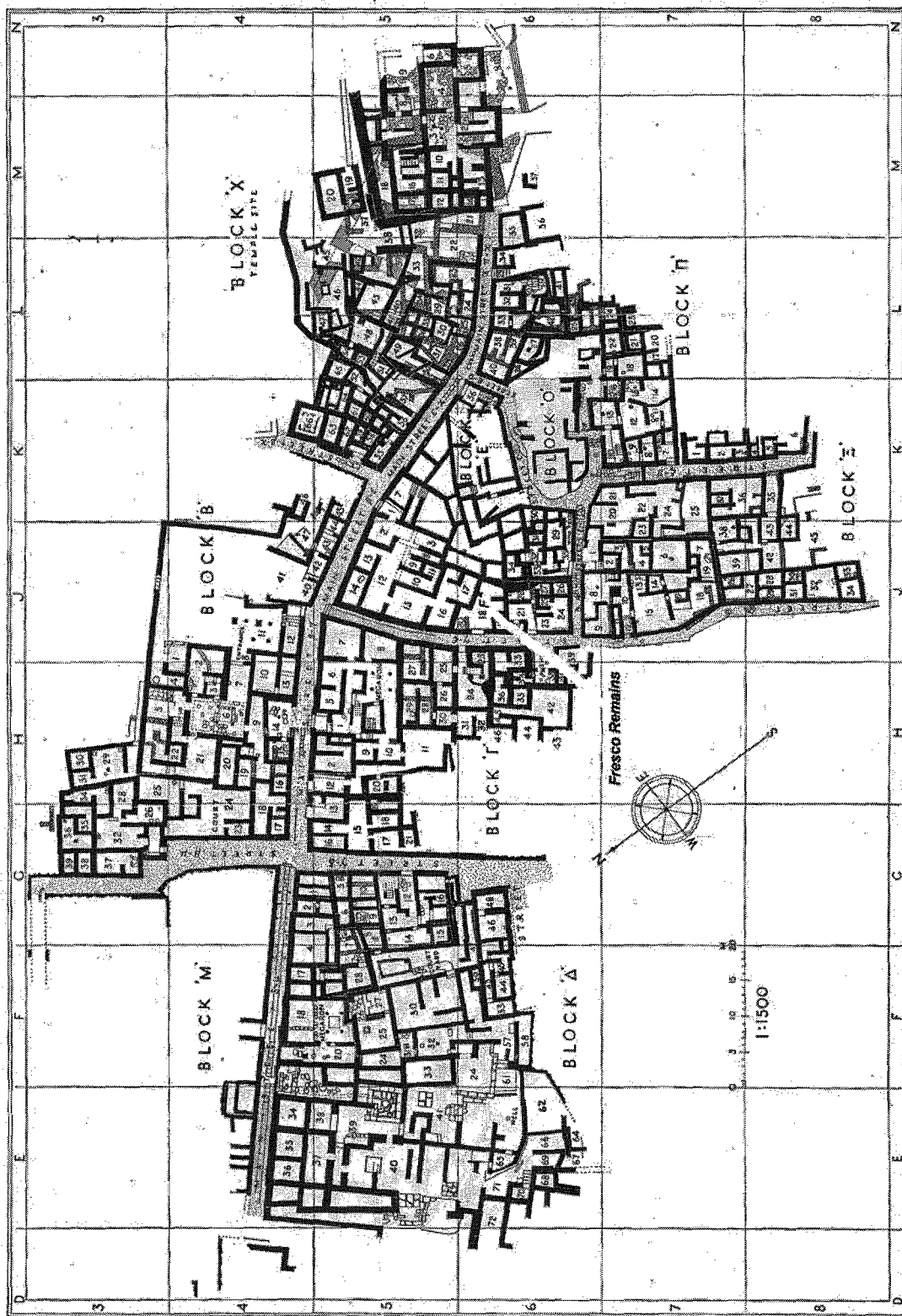


Figure 18: Site plan of Palakastro indicating the location of fresco material (F) from Block E.

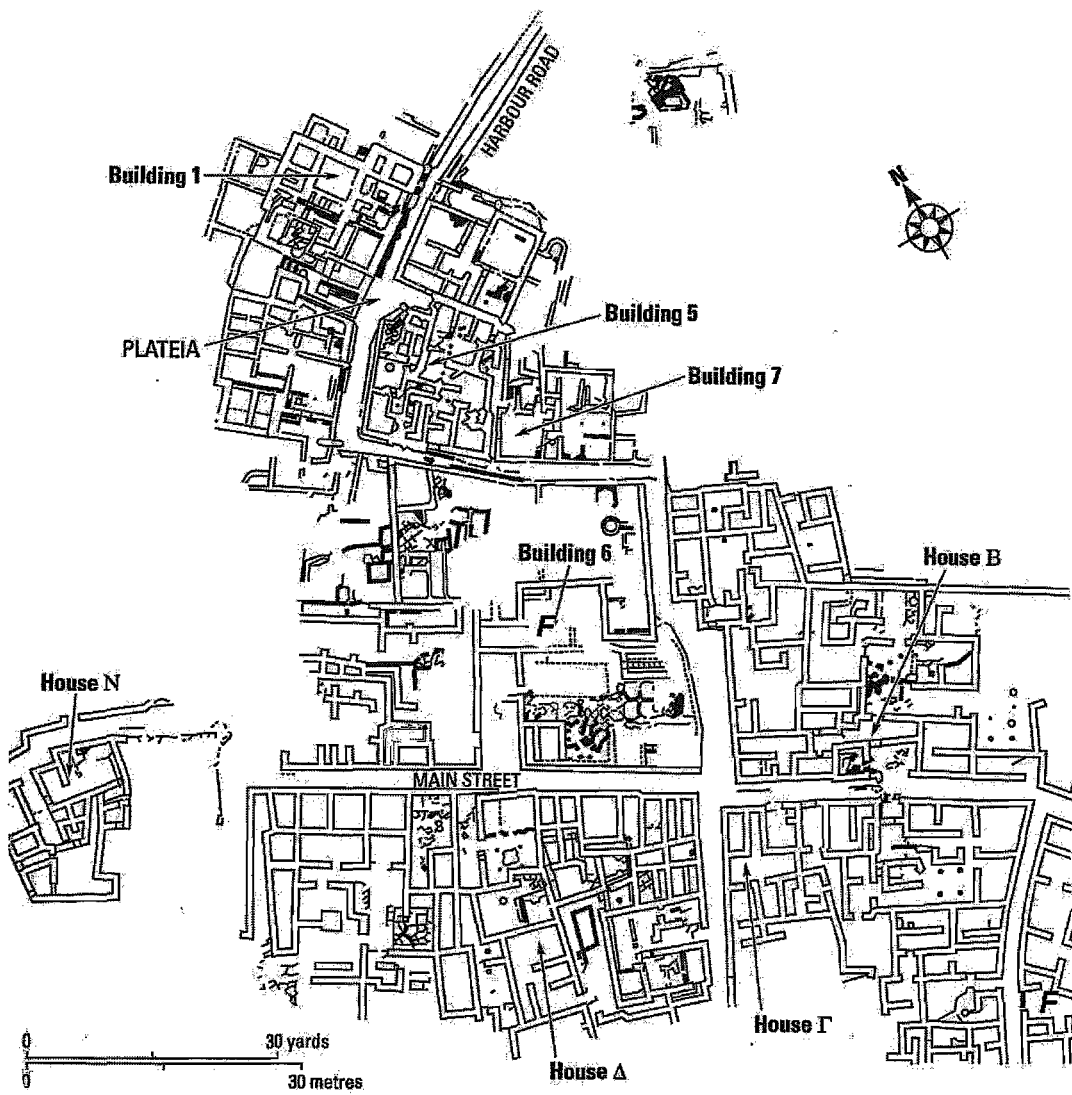


Figure 19: Site plan of Palakastro indicating the location of fresco material from Building 6 and Block E (F)

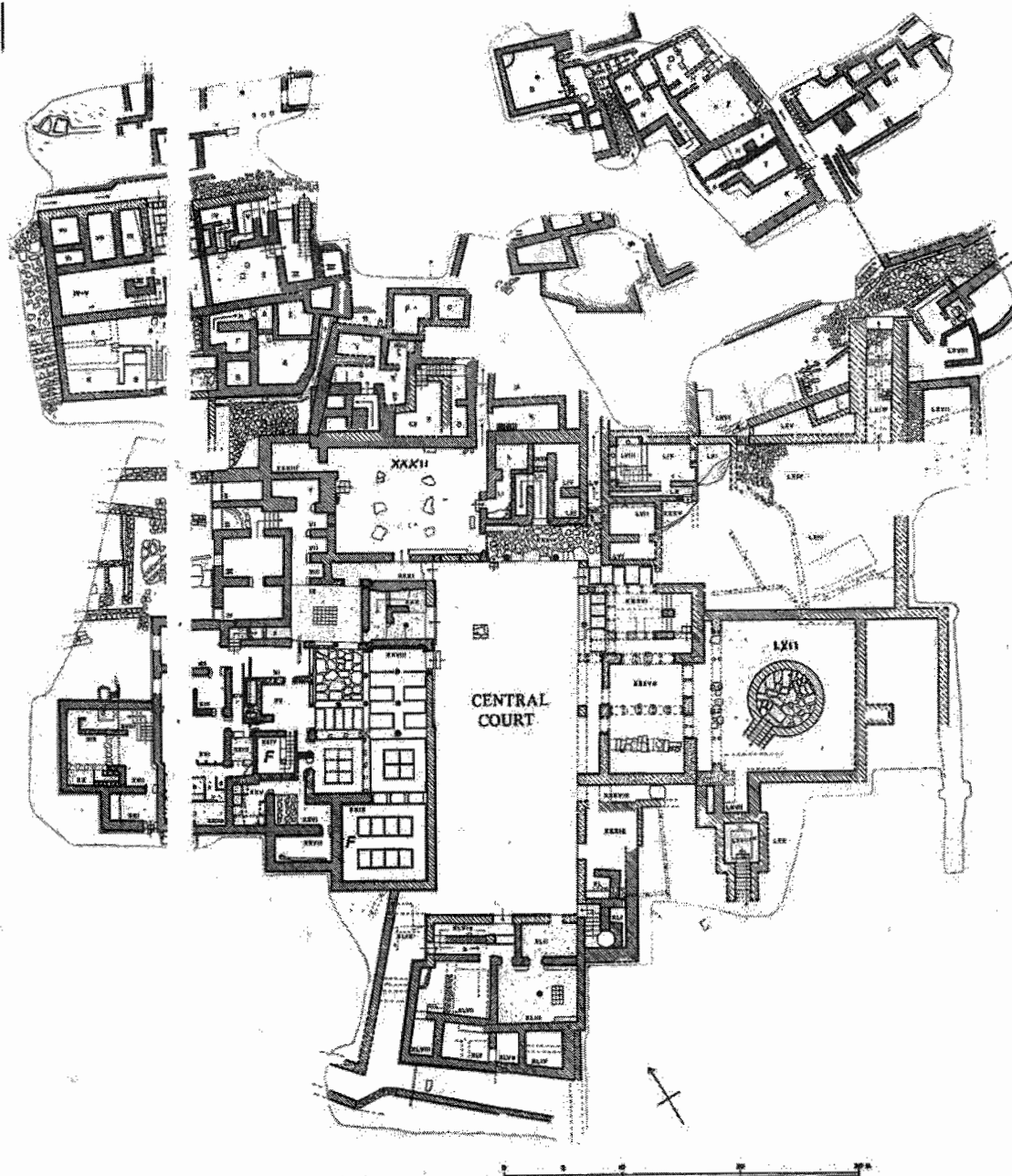


Figure 20: Site plan of the palace centre at Kato Zakro indicating the location of fresco remains (F)

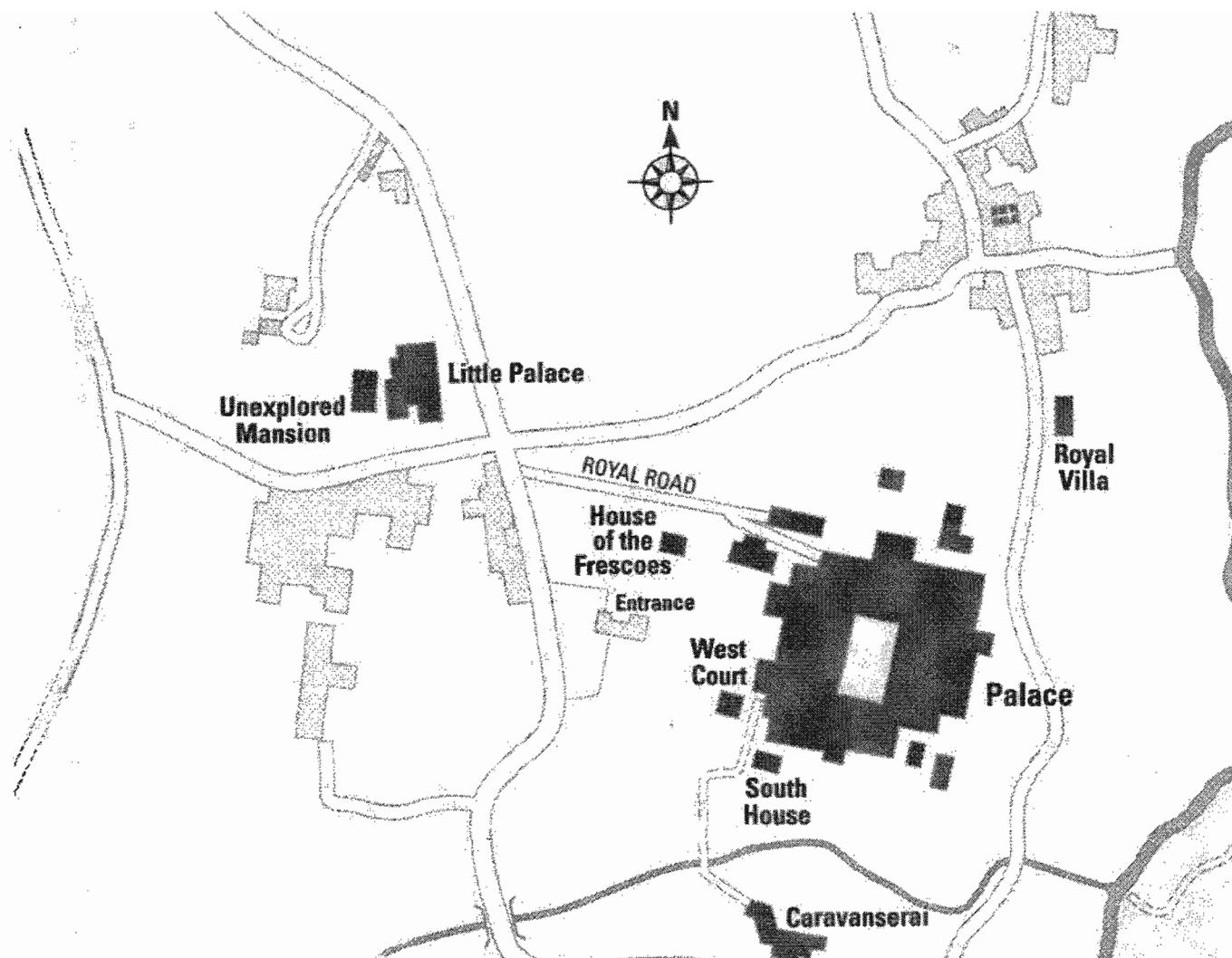


Figure 21: Site plan of Knossos including the palace, the Unexplored Mansion, the House of the Frescoes, Caravanserai, and the South House

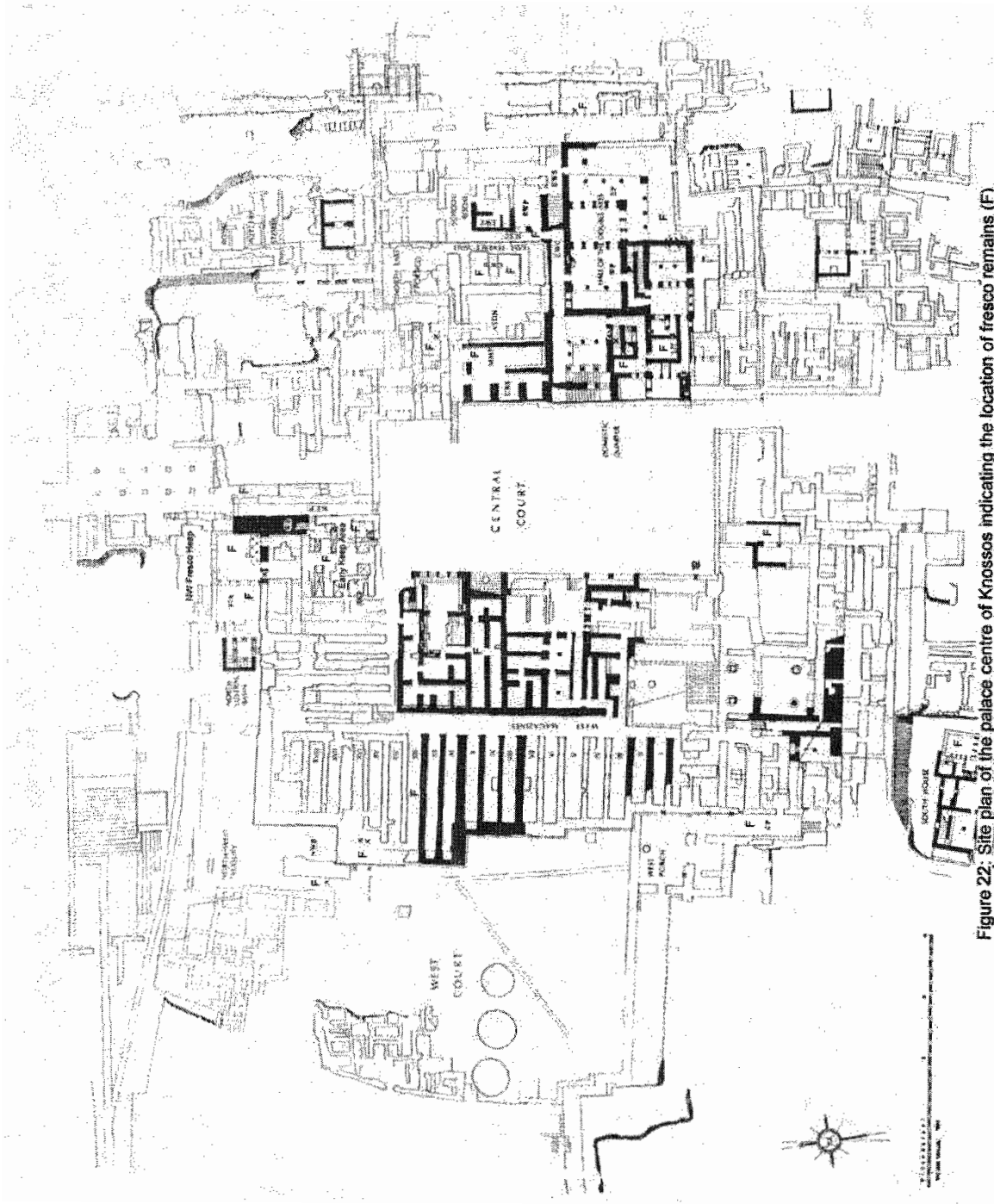


Figure 22: Site plan of the palace centre of Knossos indicating the location of fresco remains (F)

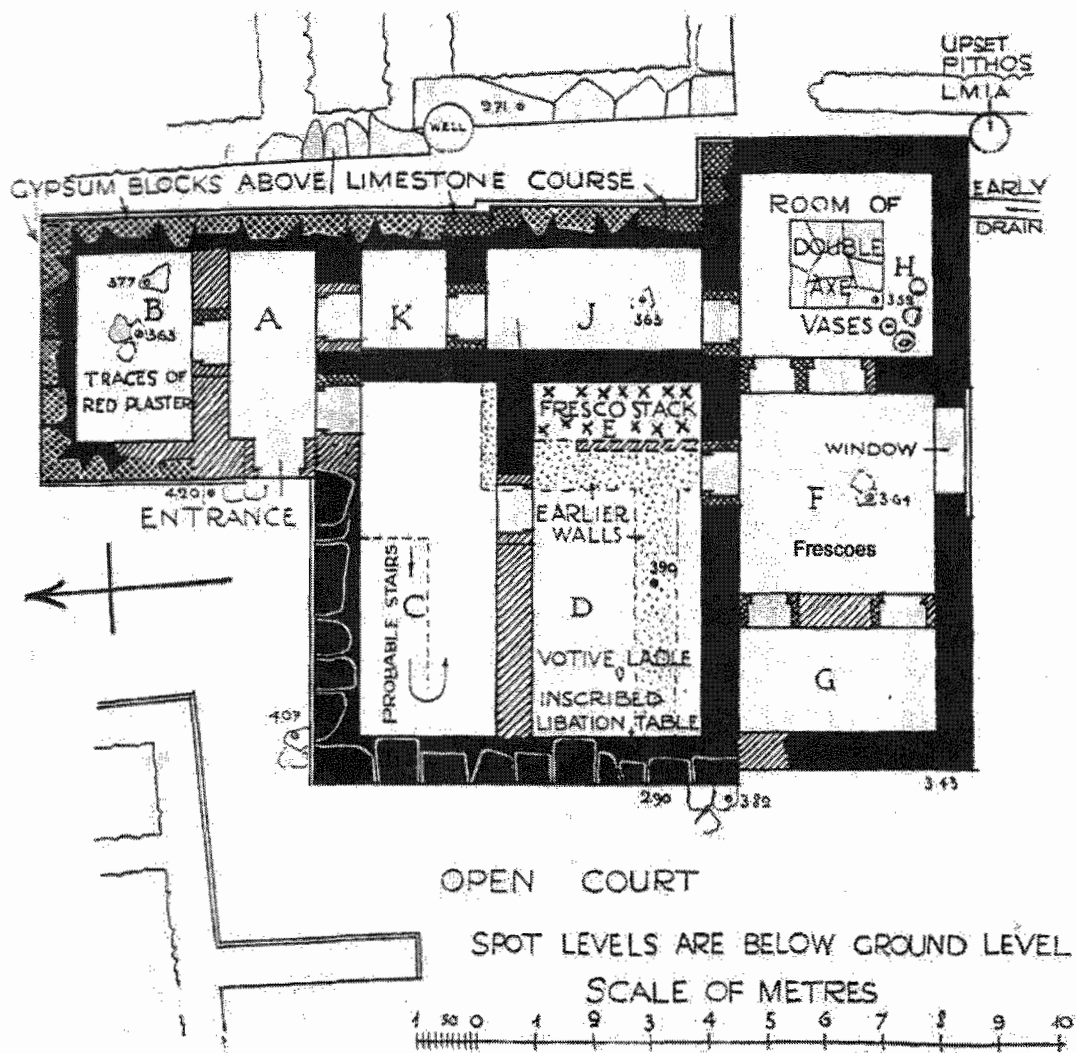


Figure 23: Site plan of the House of the Frescoes indicating the location of fresco remains

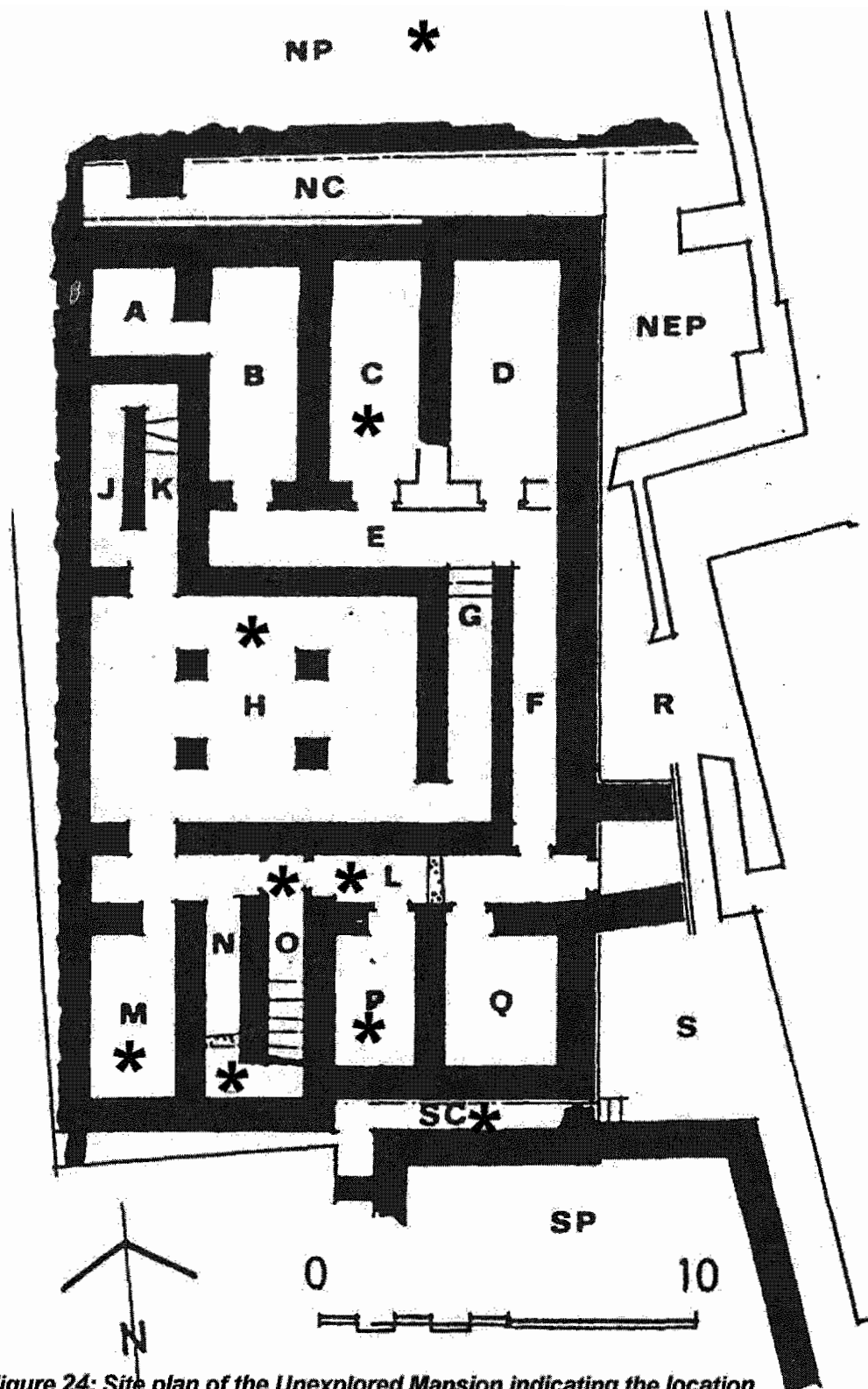


Figure 24: Site plan of the Unexplored Mansion indicating the location of fresco remains (*)

CHARTS

Chart 1: Number of Abstract Motifs by Site (n=32)

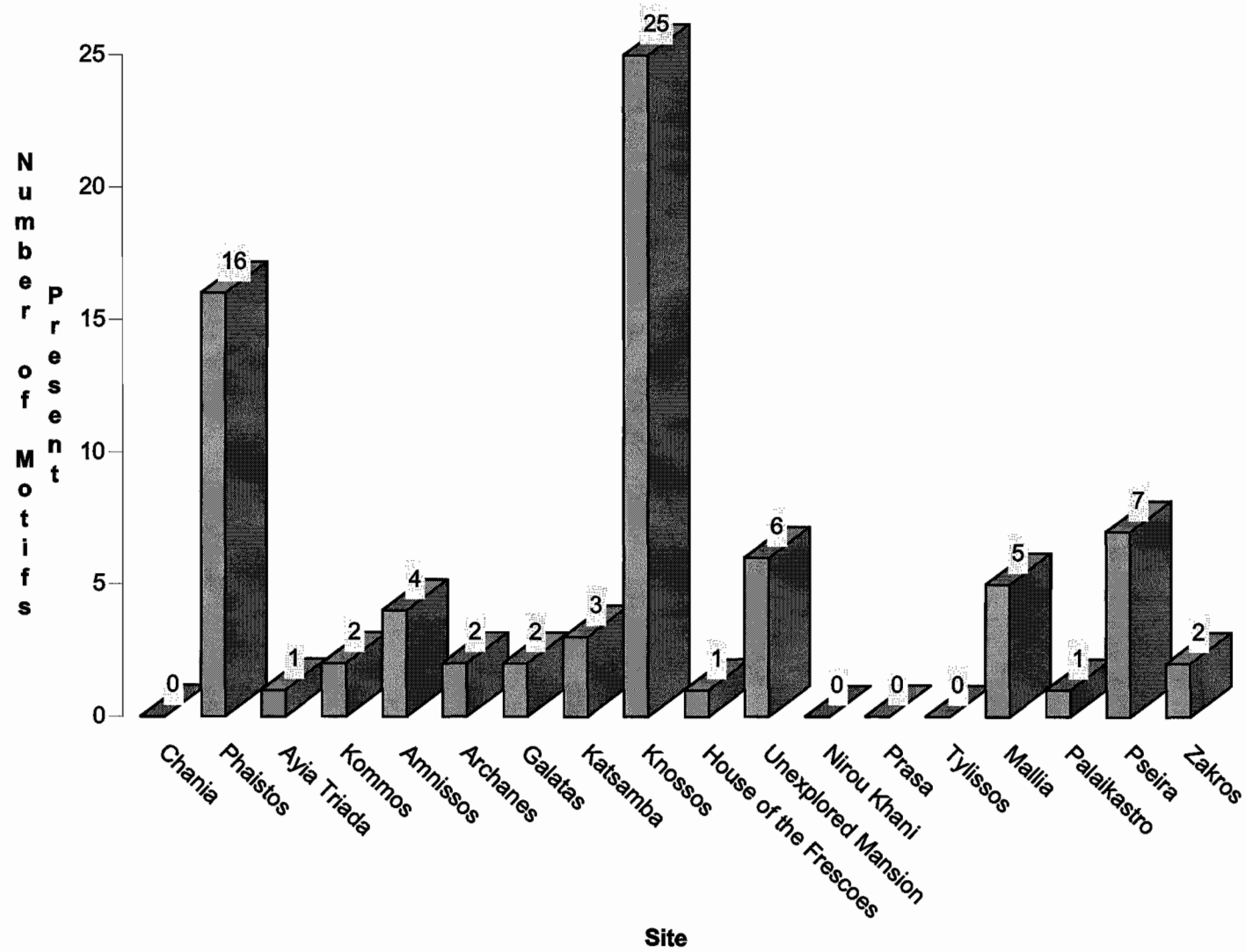


Chart 2: Number of Animal Motifs by Site (n=8)

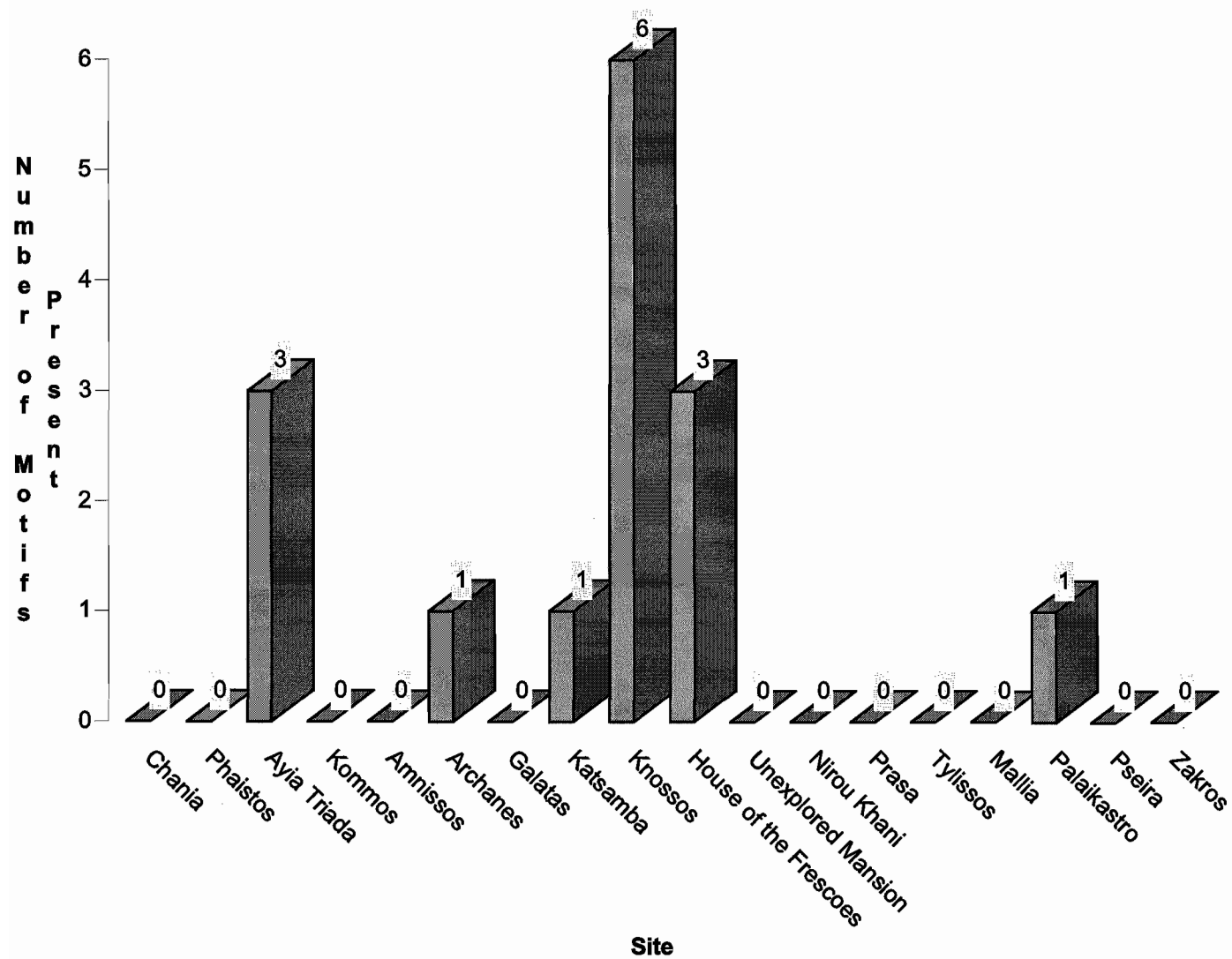


Chart 3: Number of Human Motifs by Site (n=3)

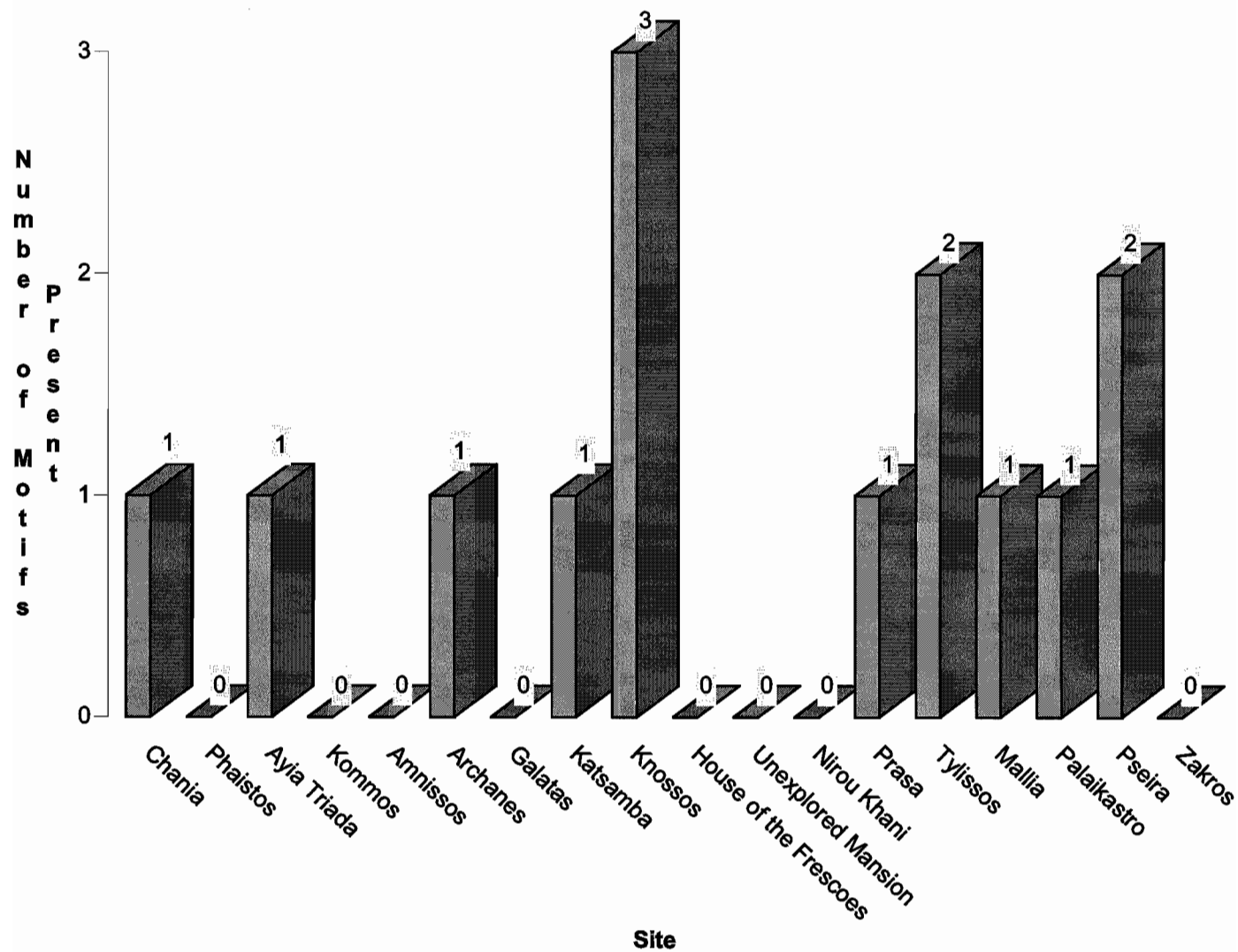


Chart 4: Number of Marine Motifs by Site (n=3)

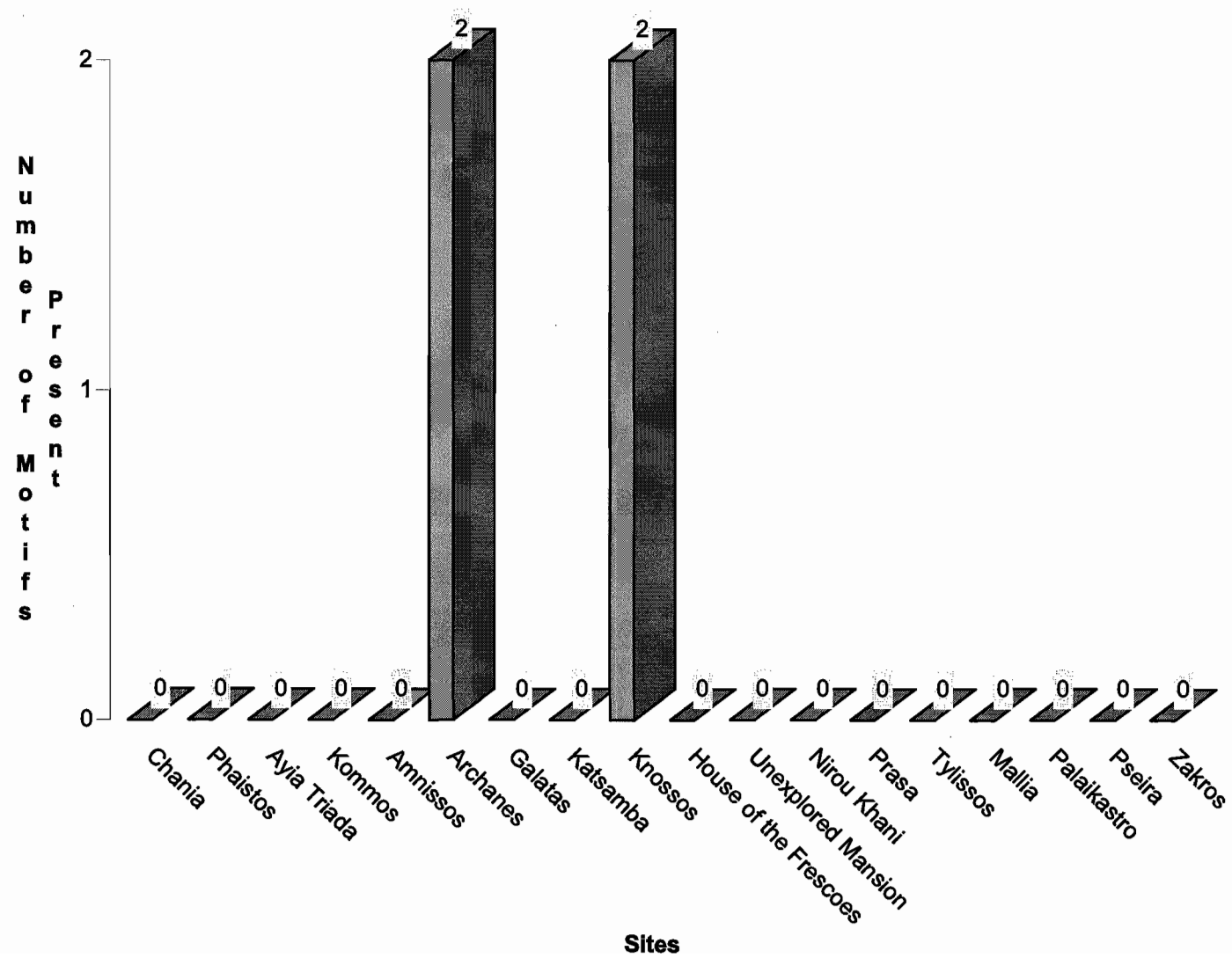


Chart 5: Number of Object Motifs by Site (n=10)

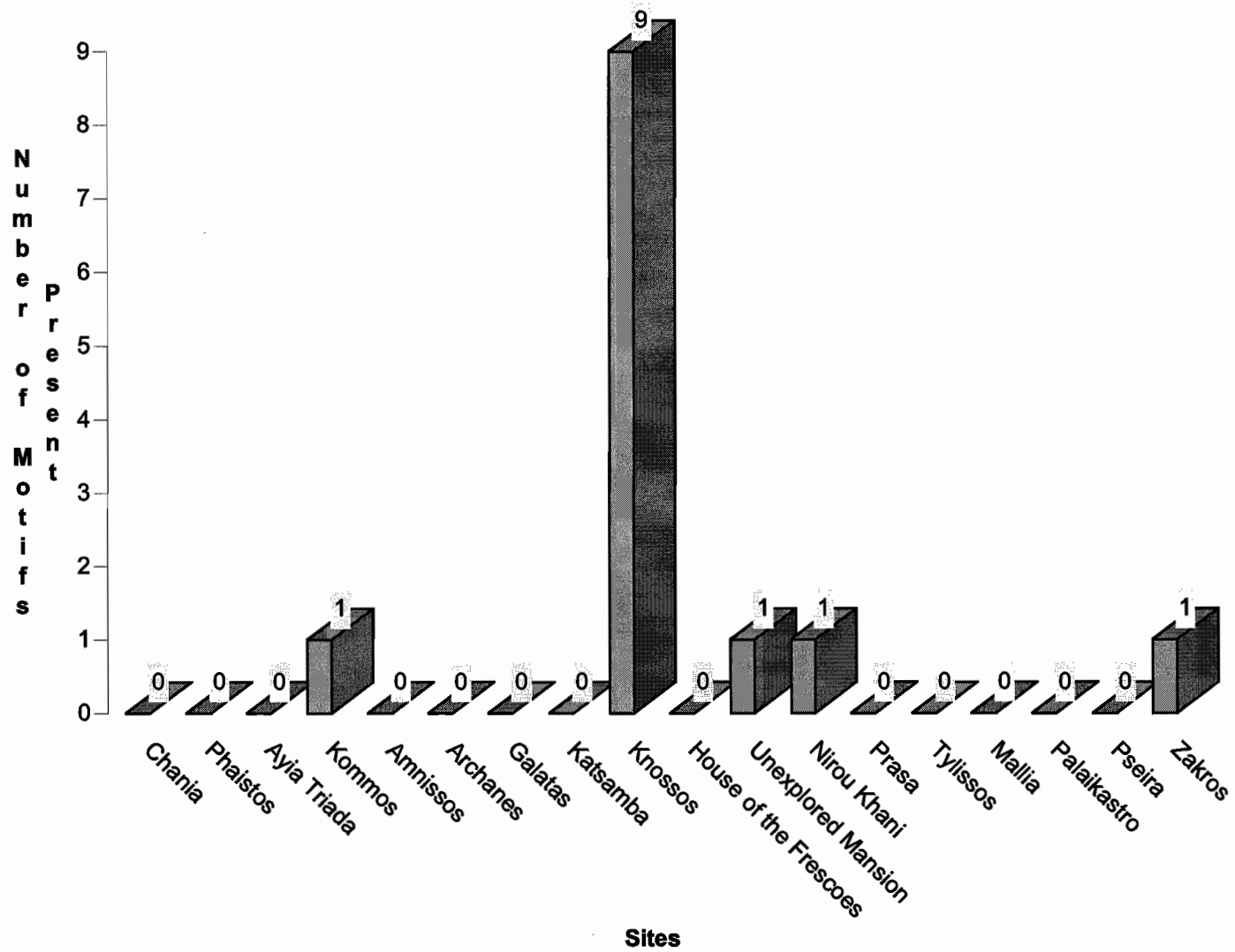


Chart 6: Number of Textile Motifs by Site (n=3)

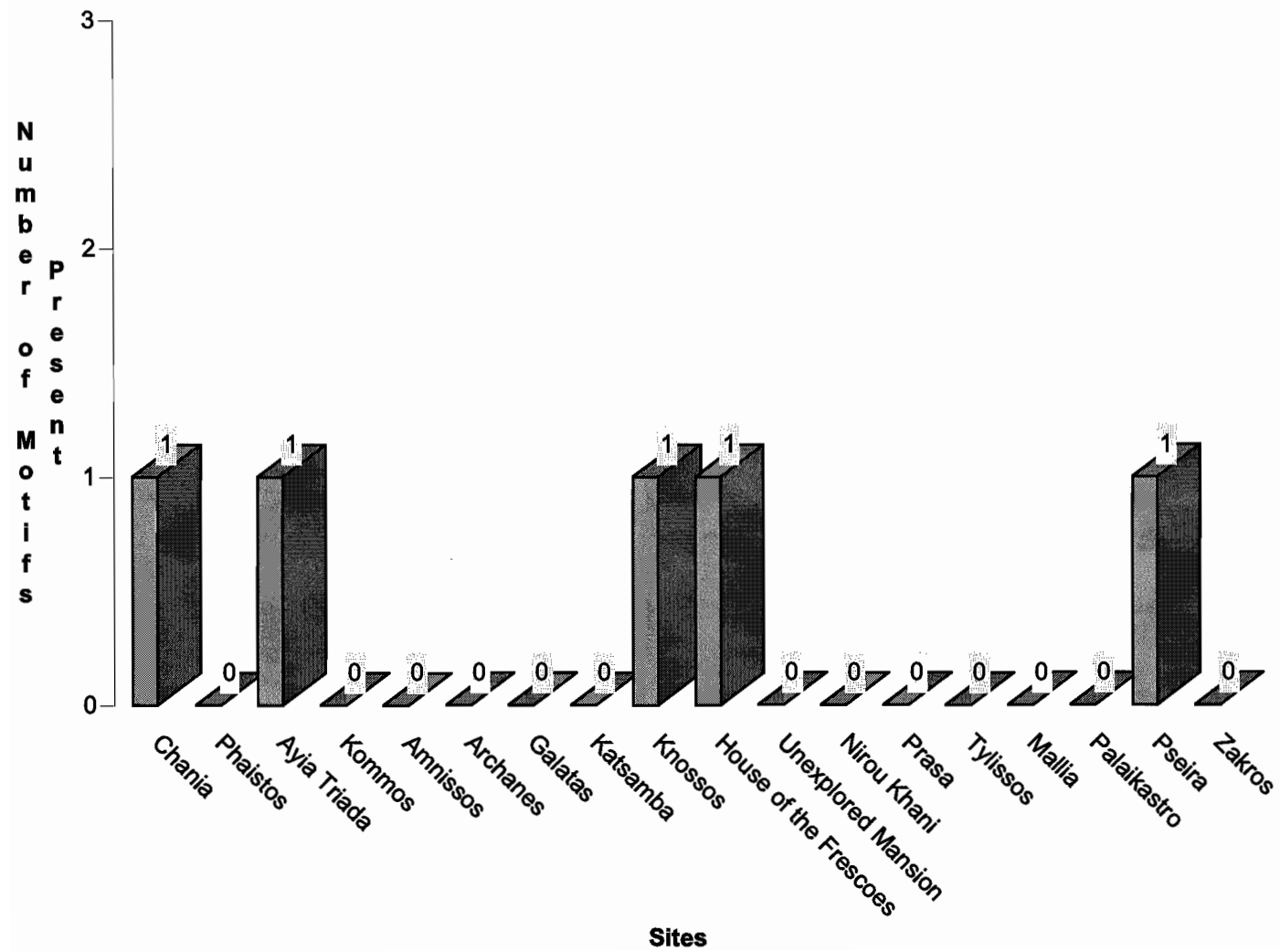


Chart 7: Number of Vegetal Motifs by Site (n=10)

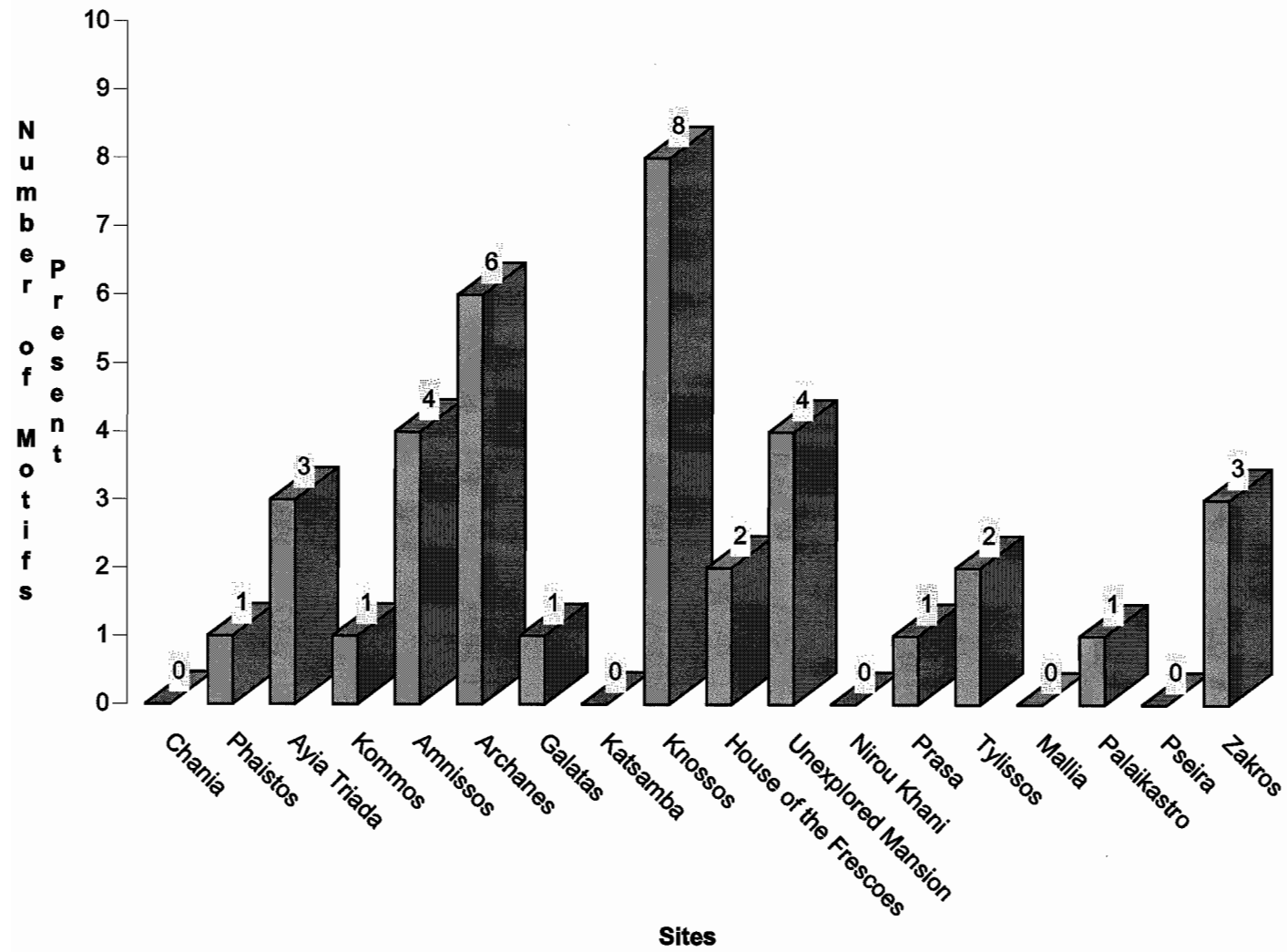


Chart 8: Chania (n=2)

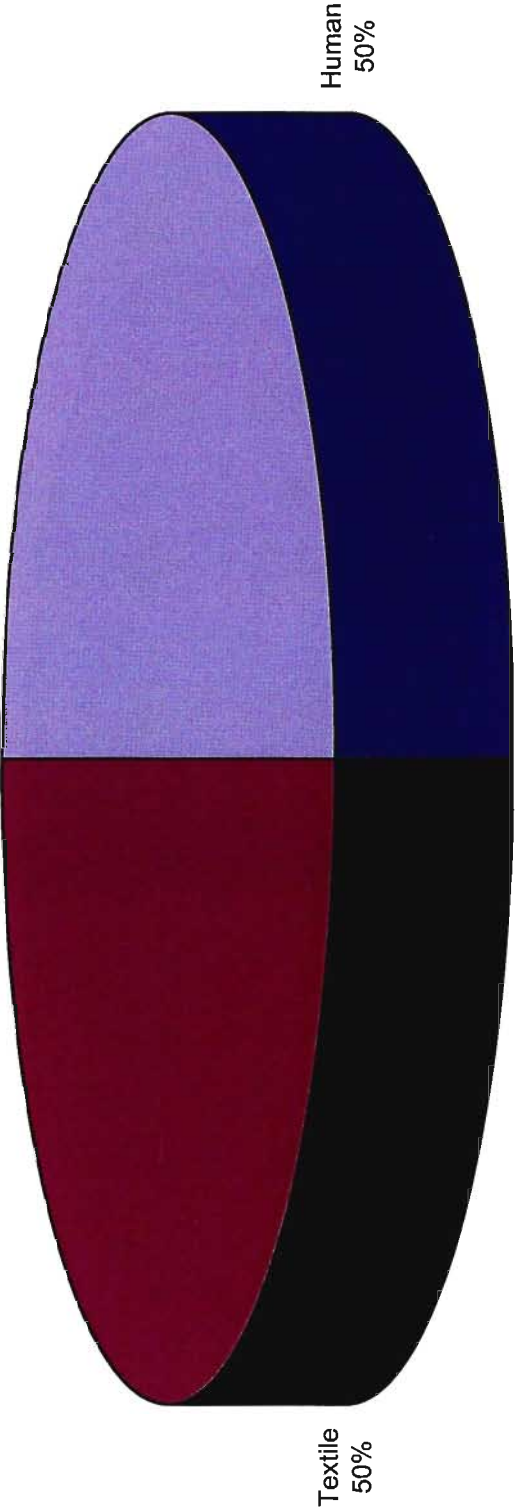


Chart 9: Phaistos (n=17)

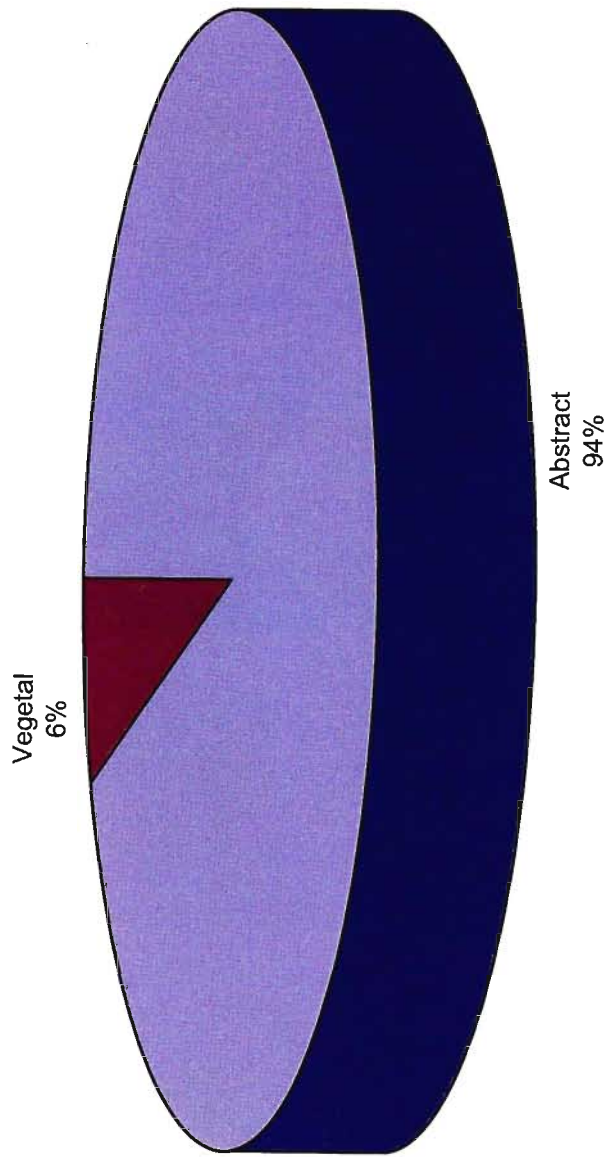


Chart 10: Ayia Triada (n=9)

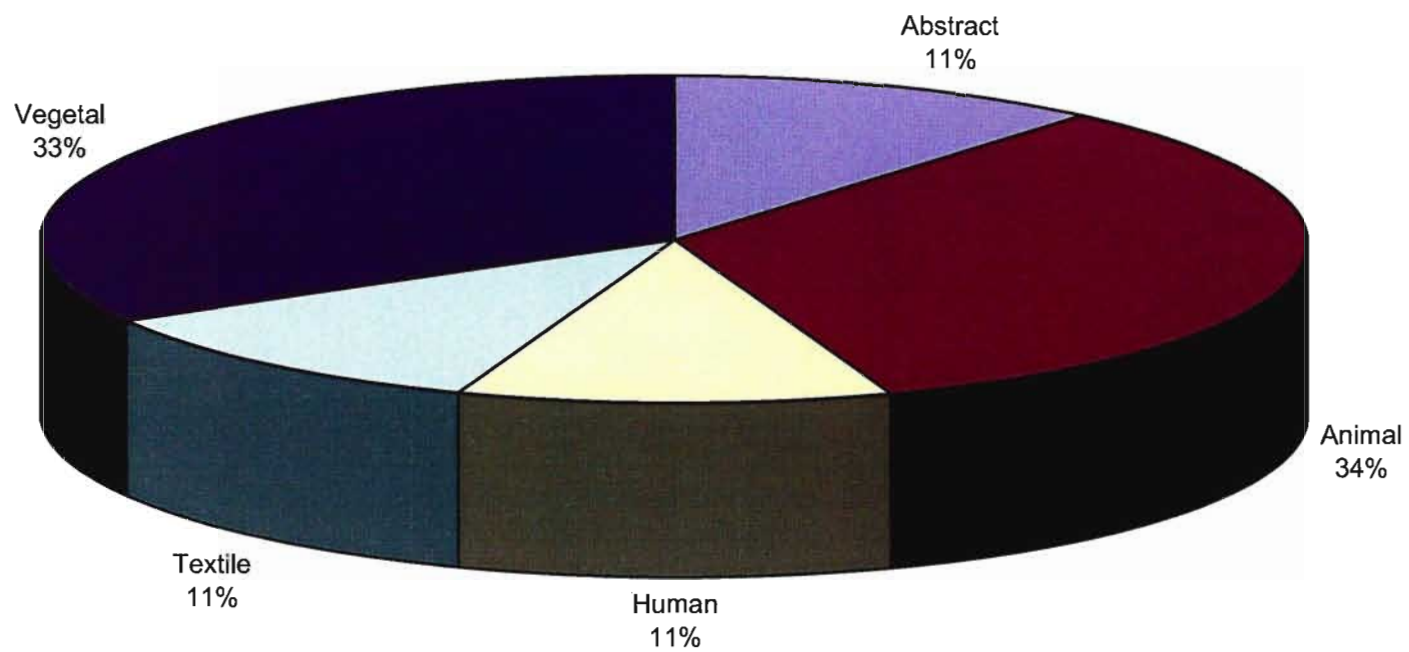


Chart 11: Kommos (n=4)

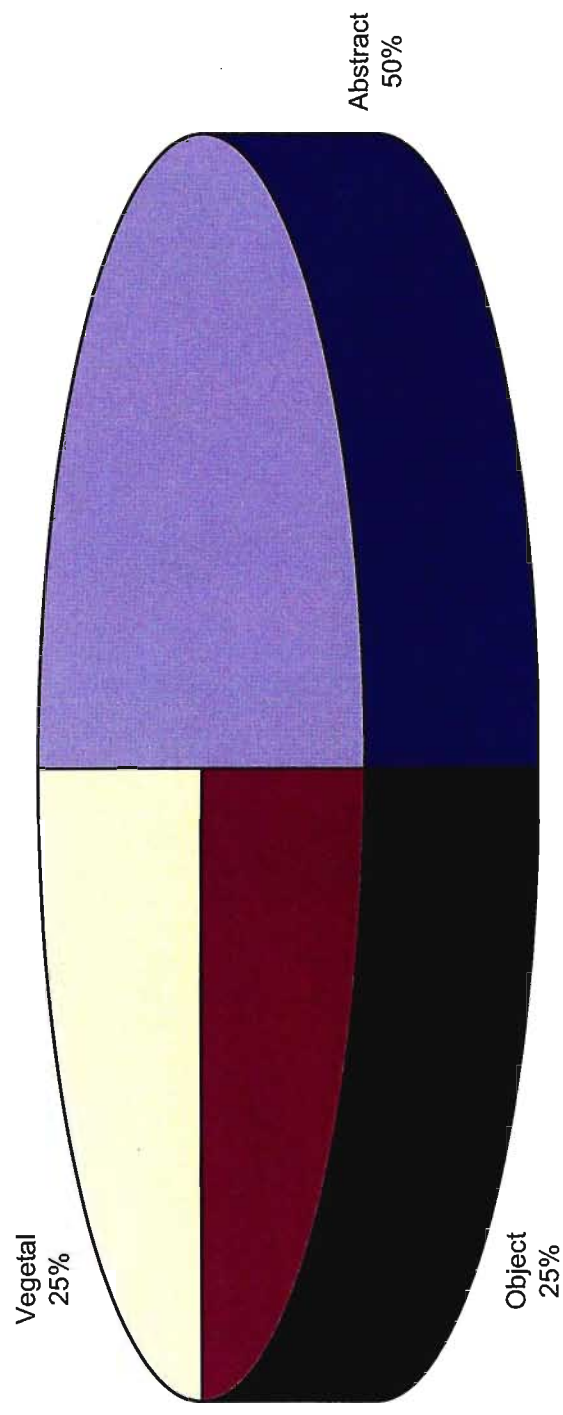


Chart 12: Knossos (n=54)

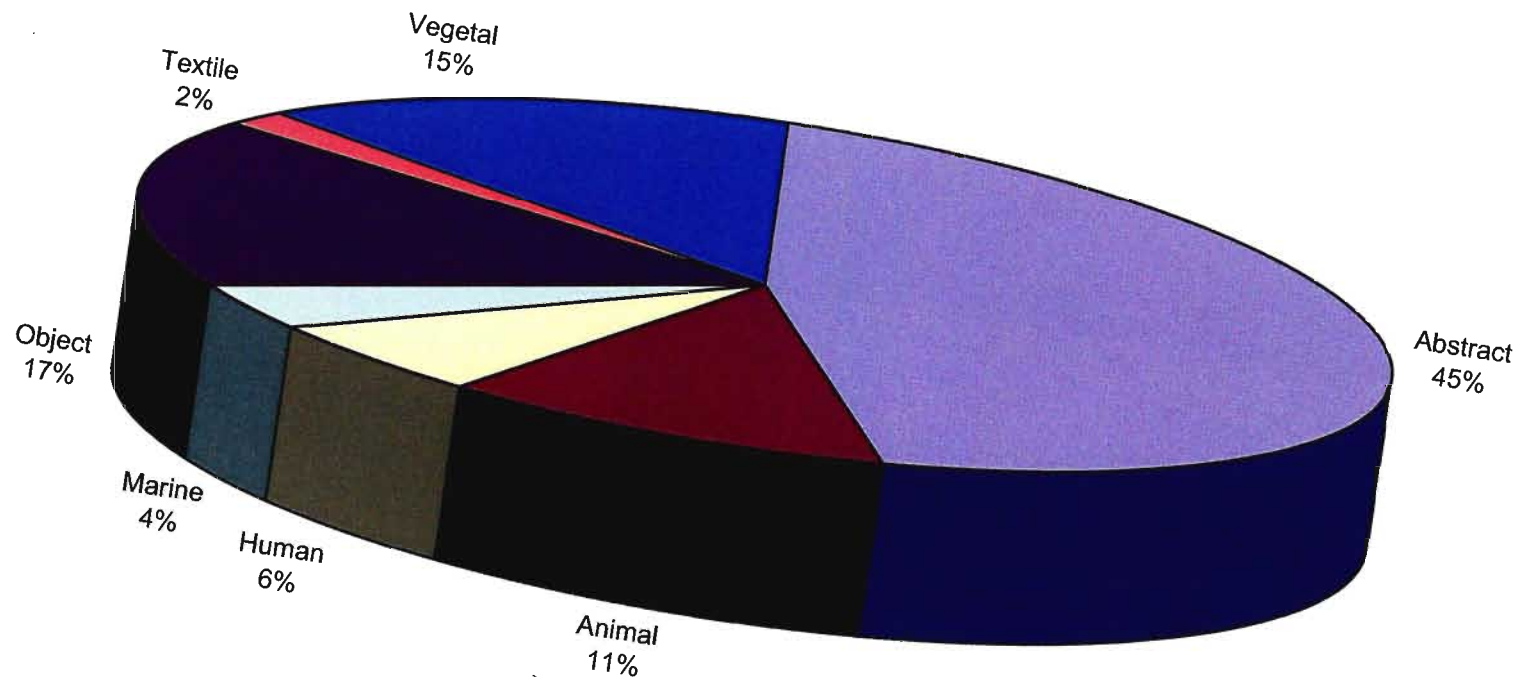


Chart 13: Archanes (n=12)

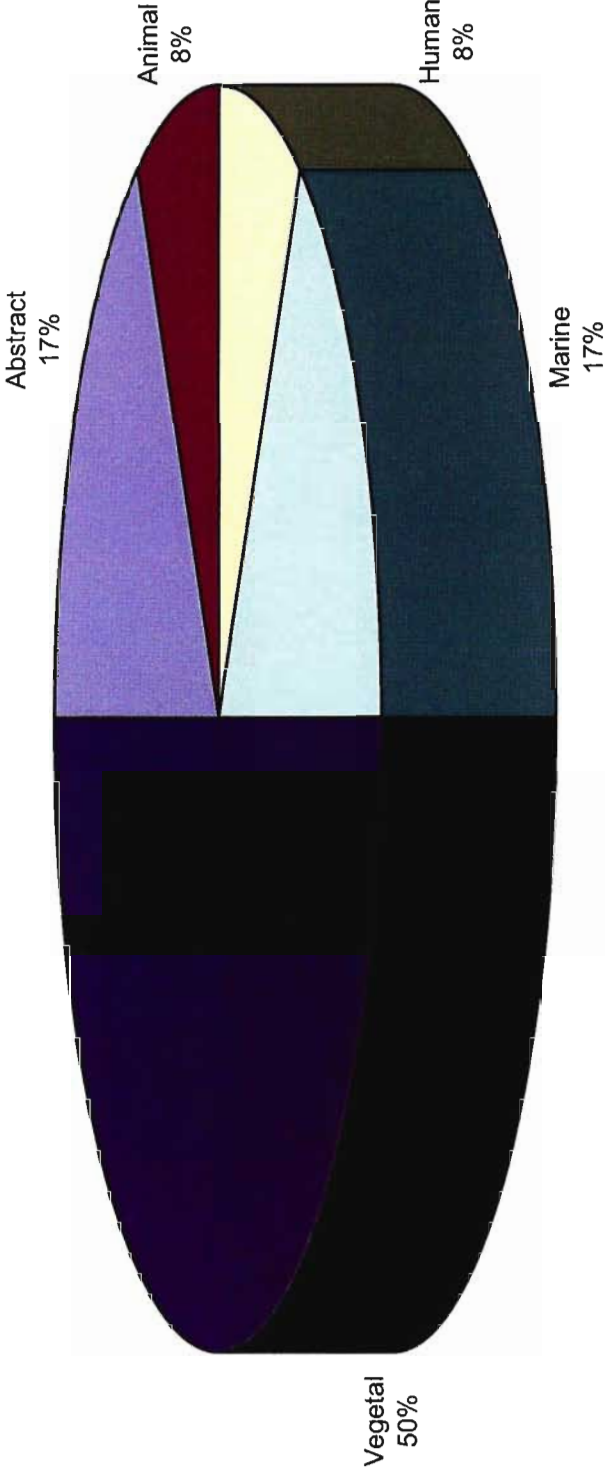


Chart 14: House of the Frescoes (n=7)

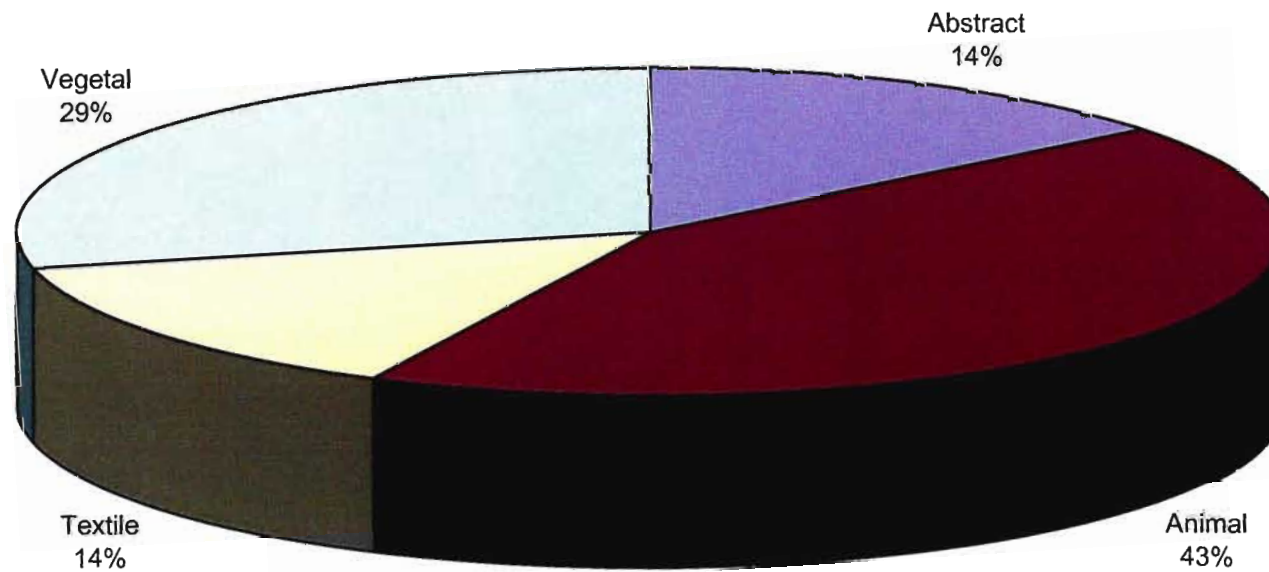


Chart 15: Unexplored Mansion (n=11)

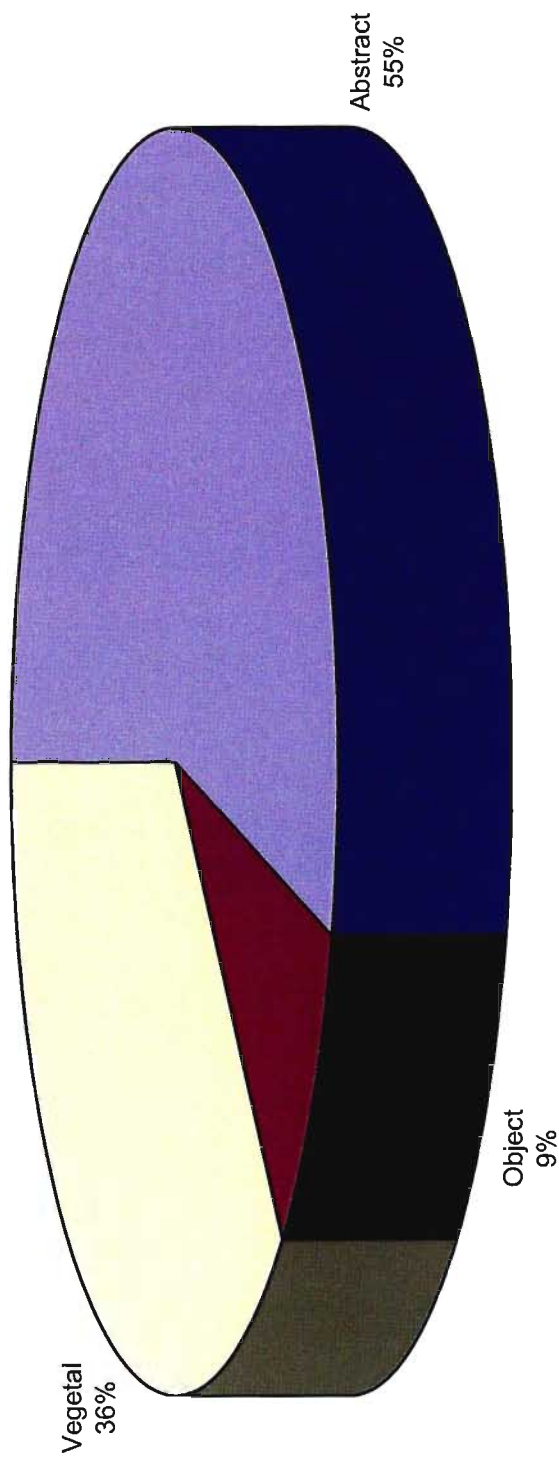


Chart 16: Galatas (n=3)

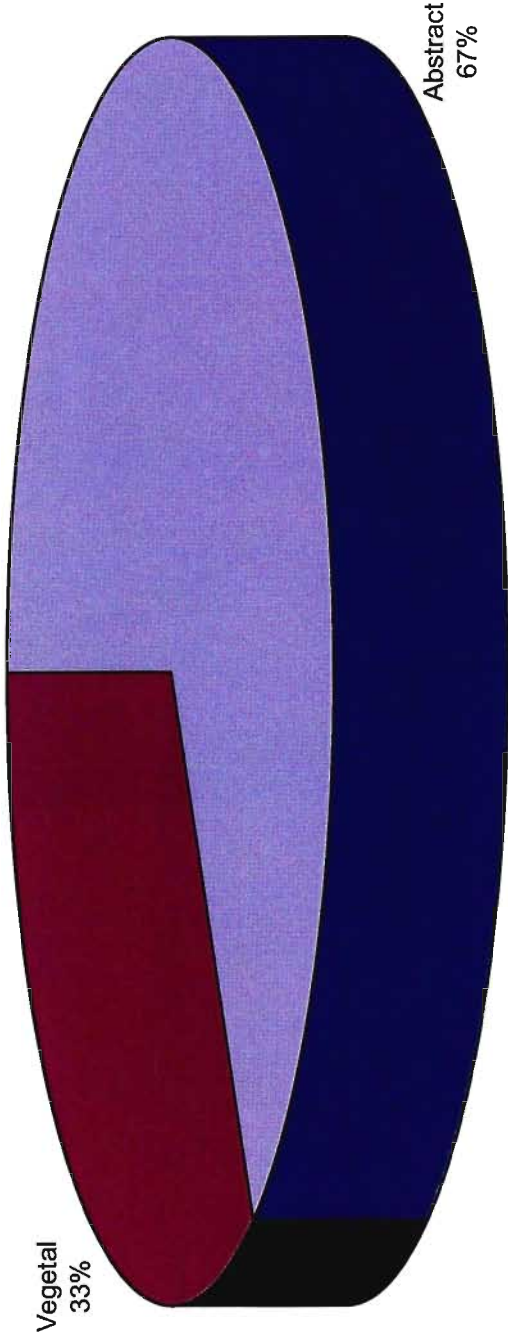


Chart 17: Katsamba (n=5)

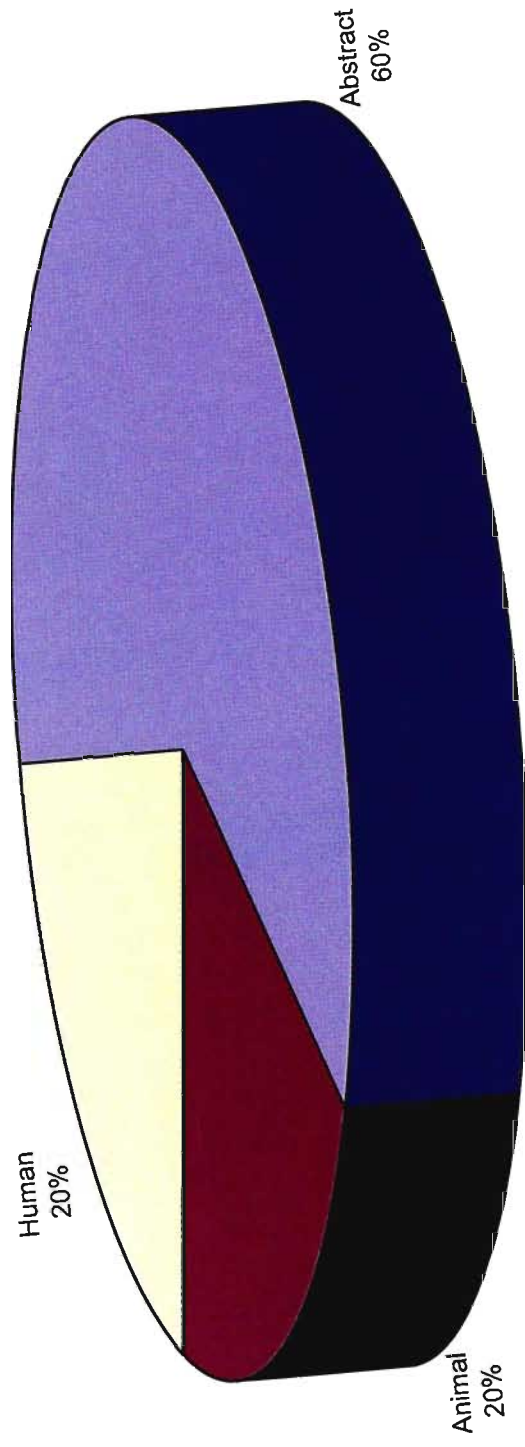


Chart 18: Amnissos (n=8)

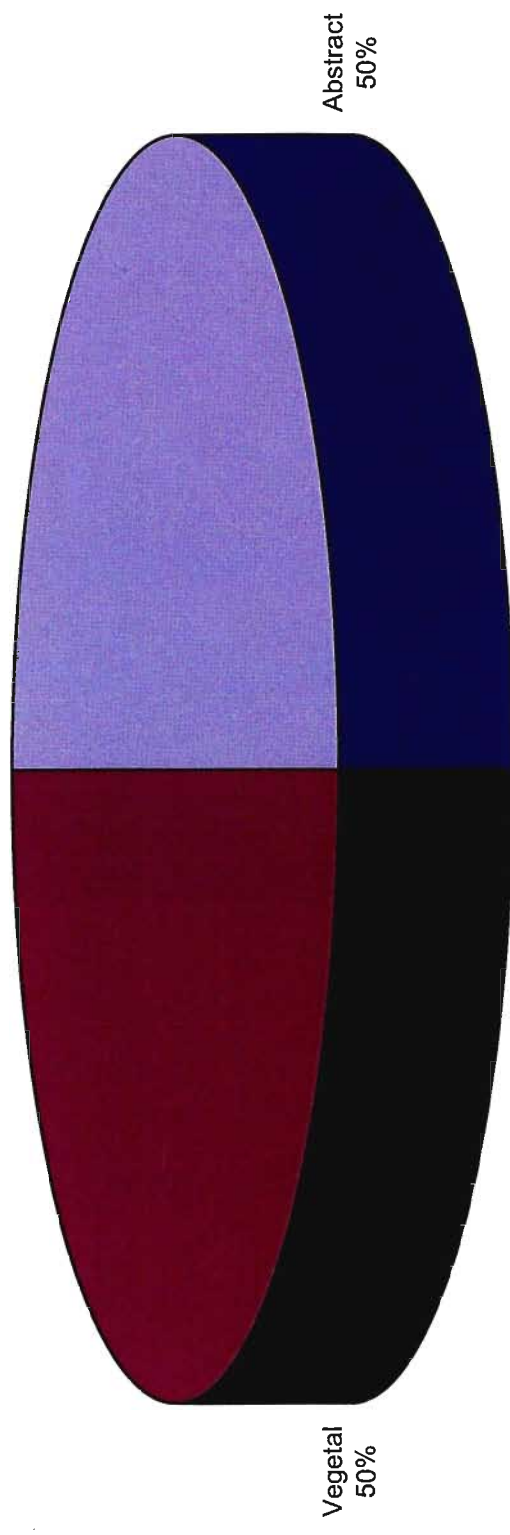


Chart 19: Tylissos (n=4)

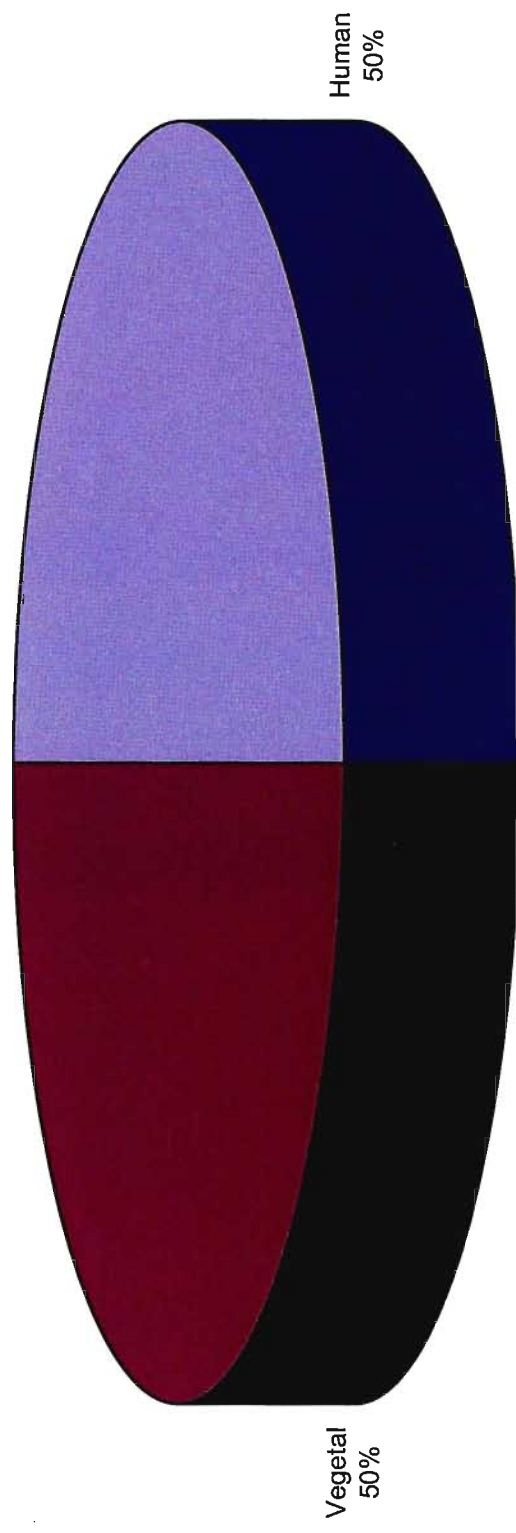


Chart 20: Prasa (n=2)

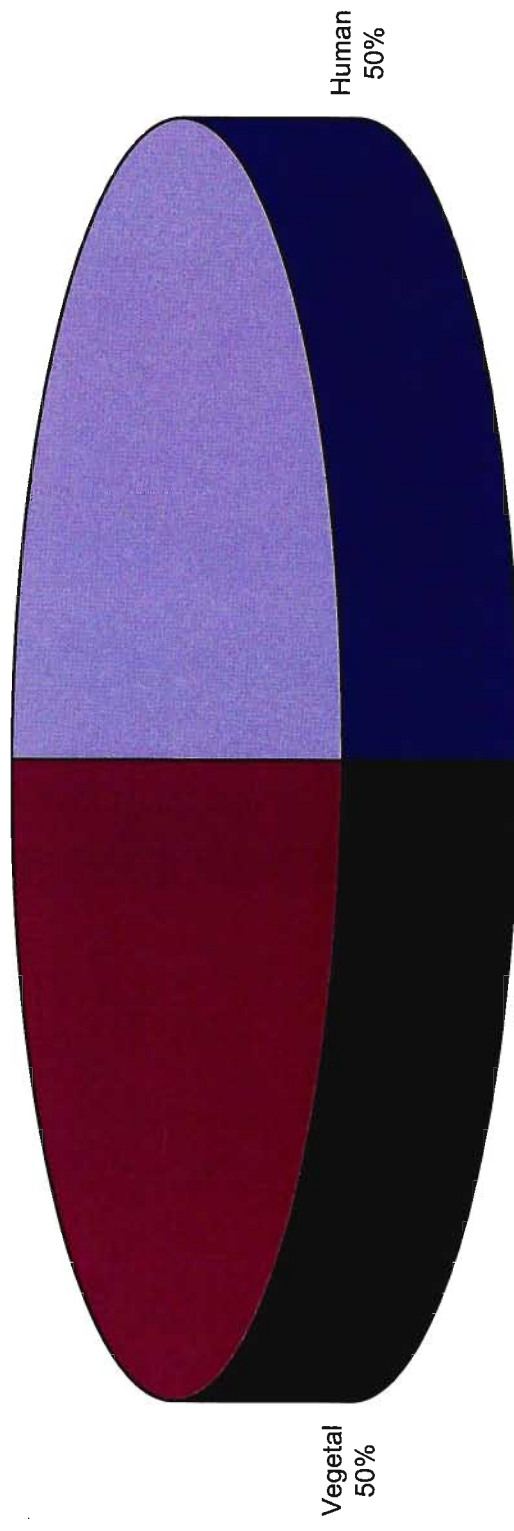


Chart 21: Mallia (n=6)

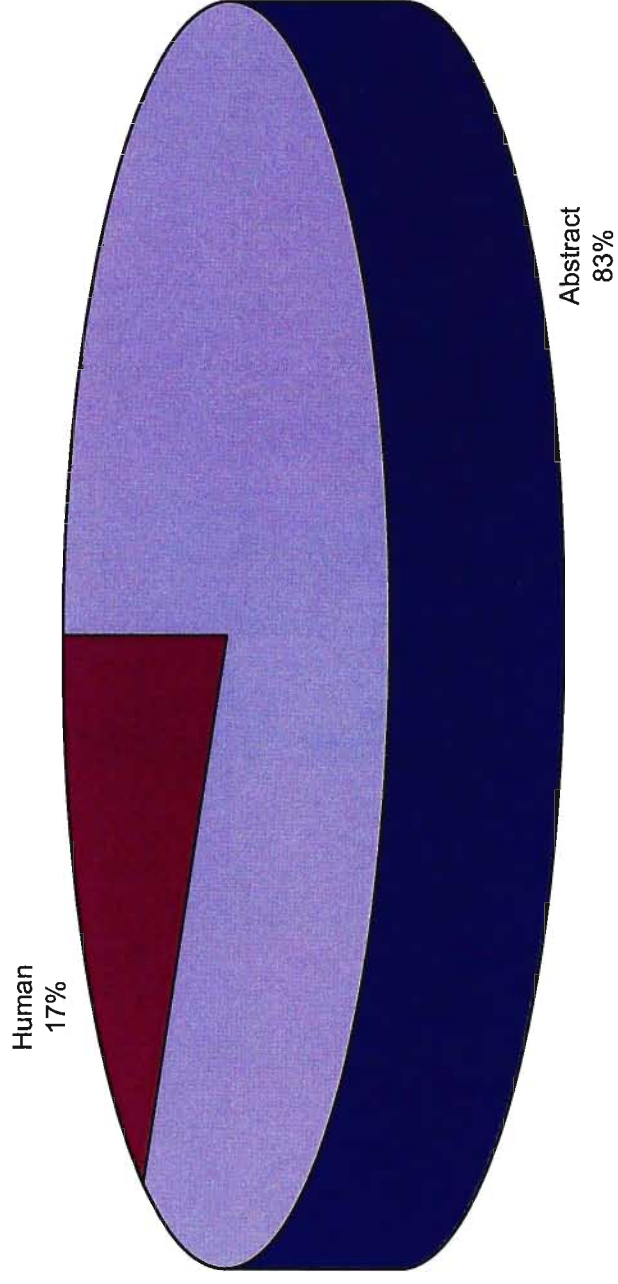


Chart 22: Palaikastro (n=4)

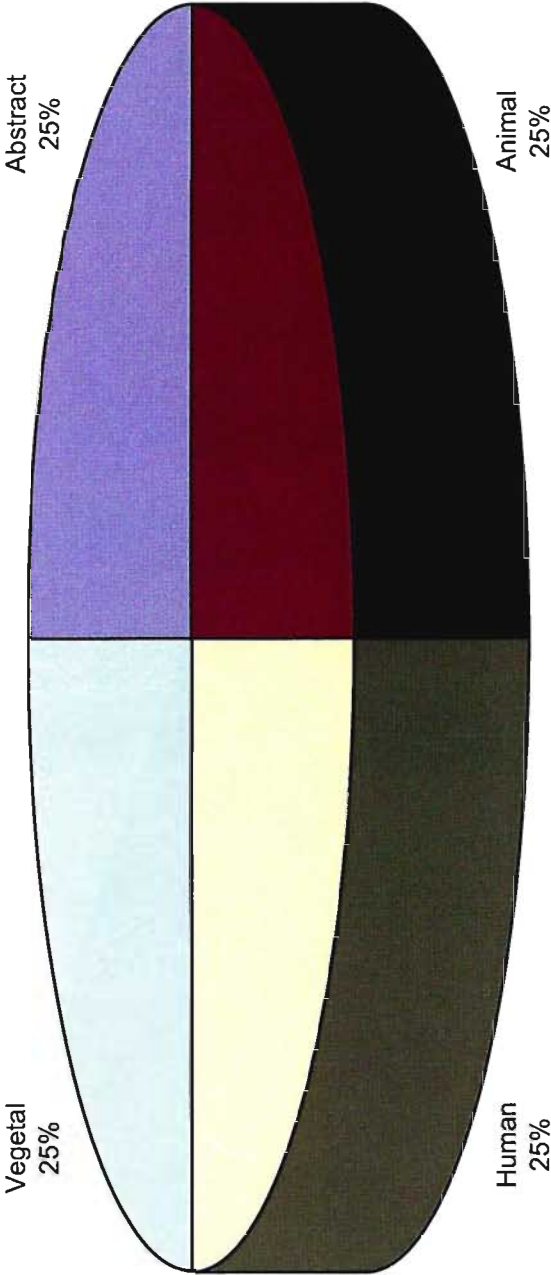


Chart 23: Pseira (n=10)

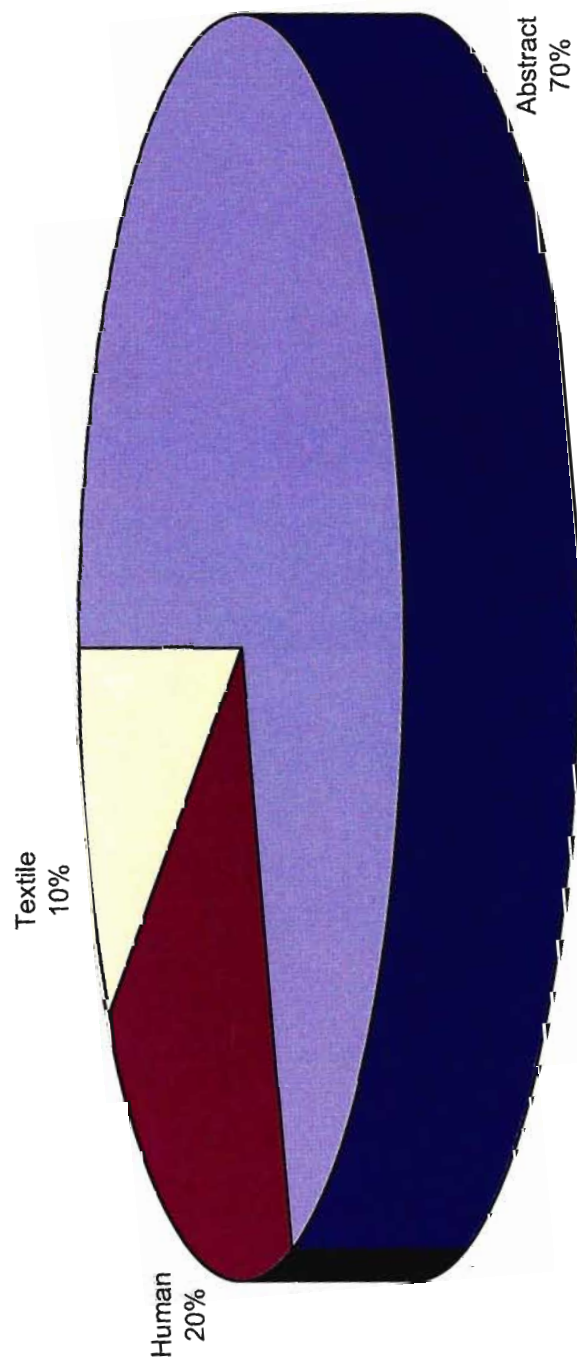


Chart 24: Zakros (n=6)

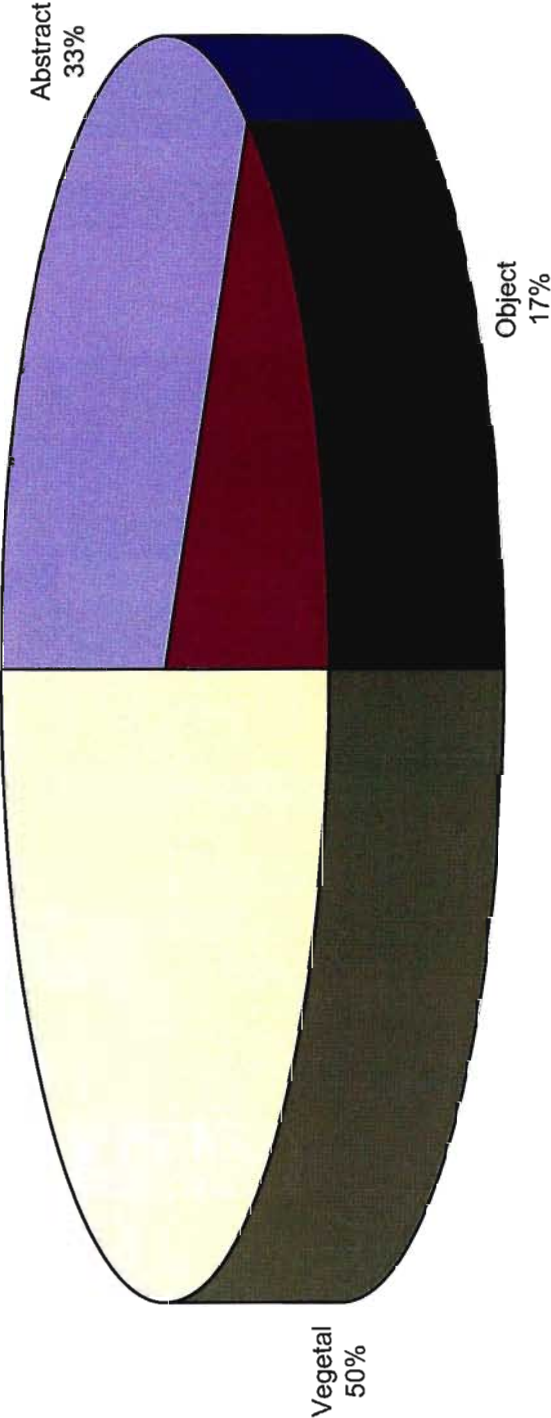


Chart 25: Distribution of Motifs by Site Type

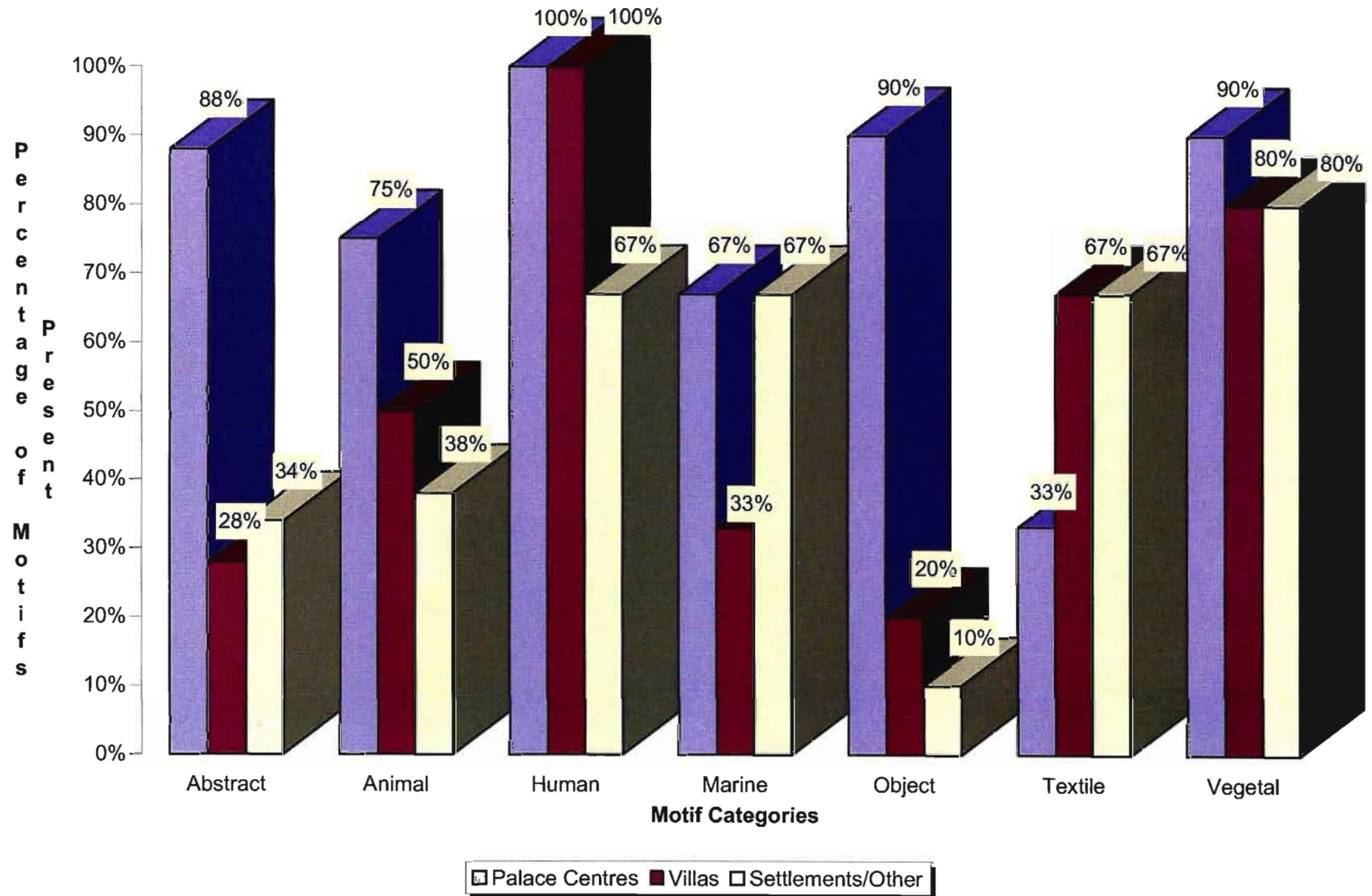


Chart 26: Motifs in Palace-Centres

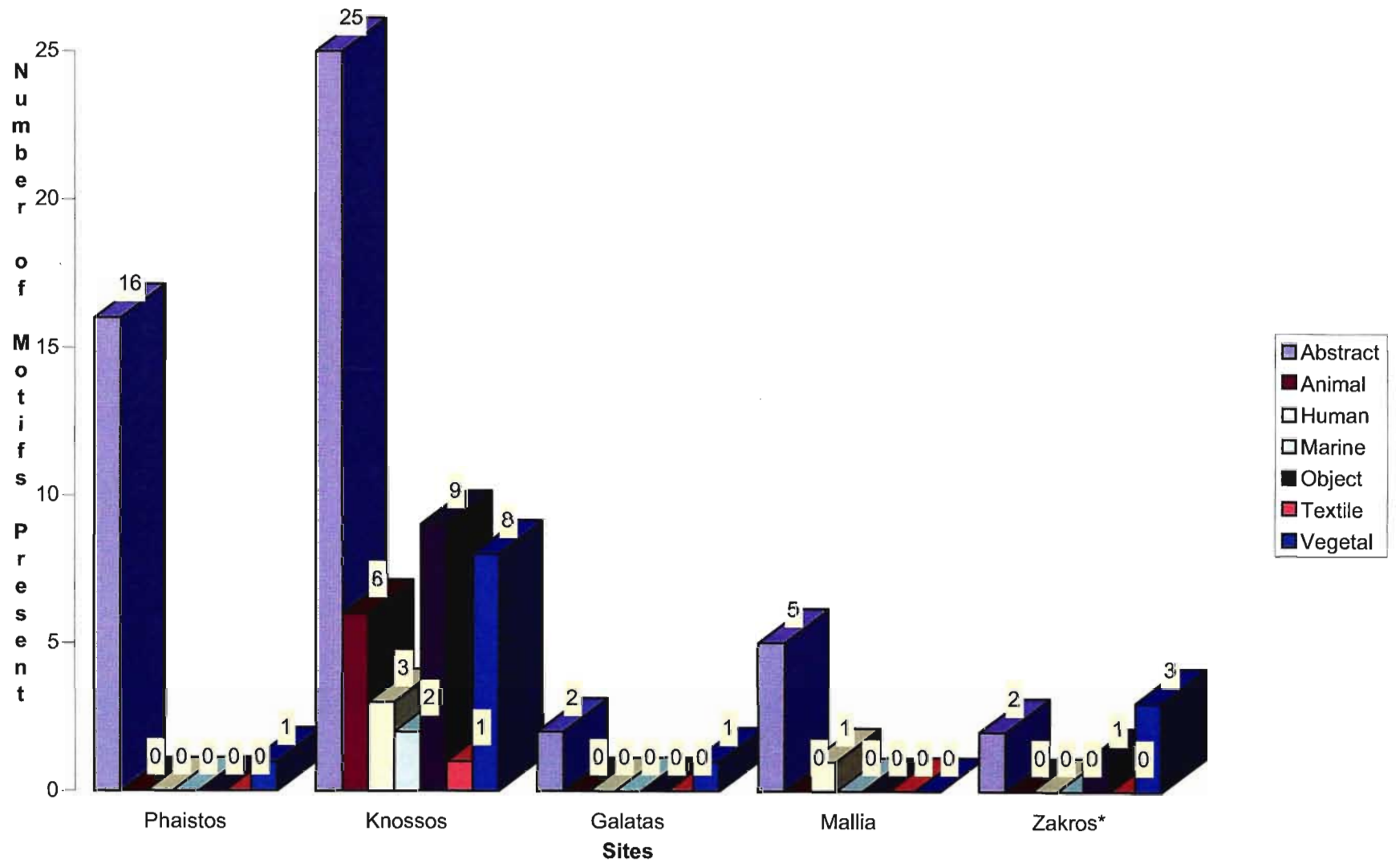


Chart 27: Motifs by Villa Sites

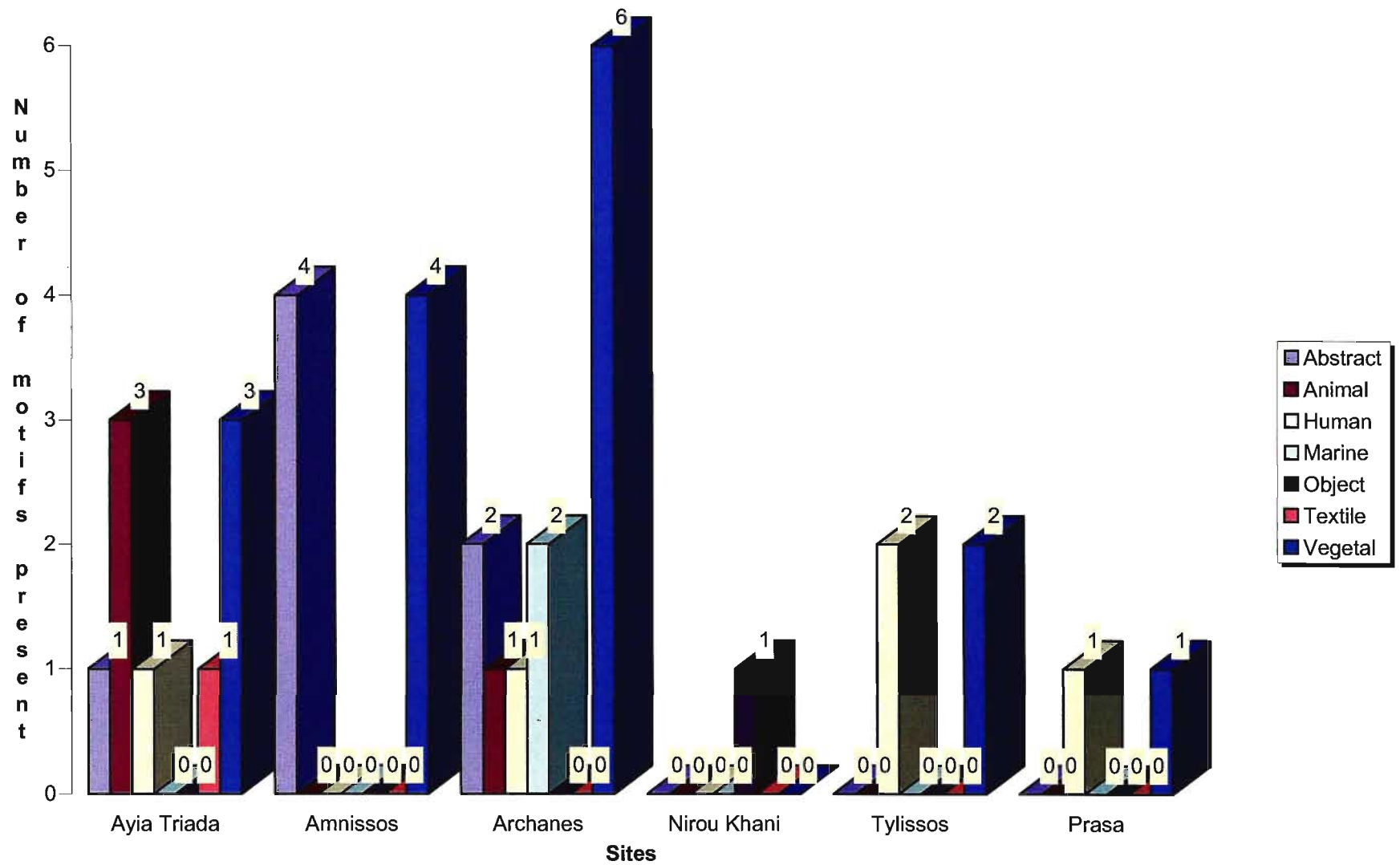


Chart 28: Motifs by Settlement Sites

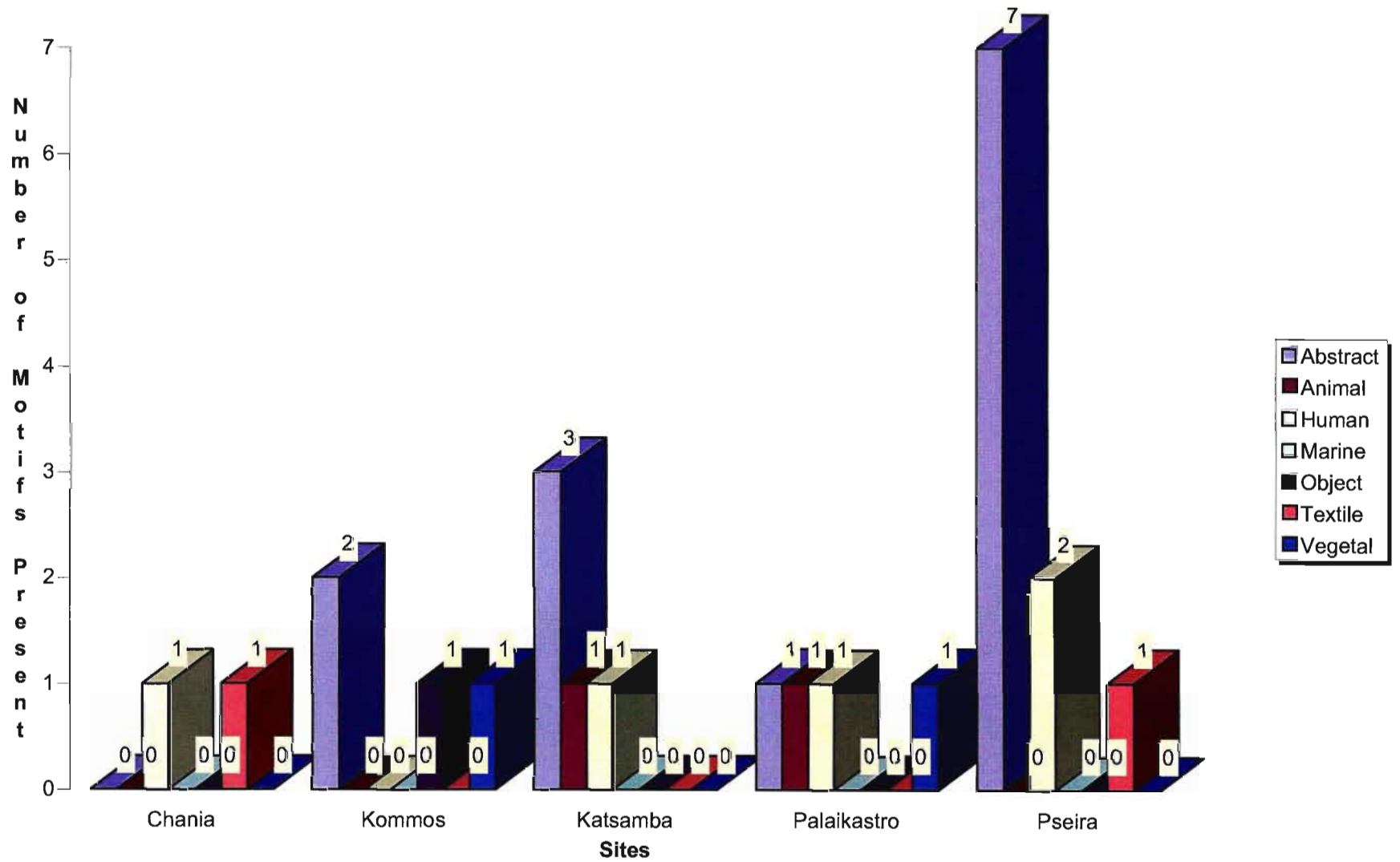
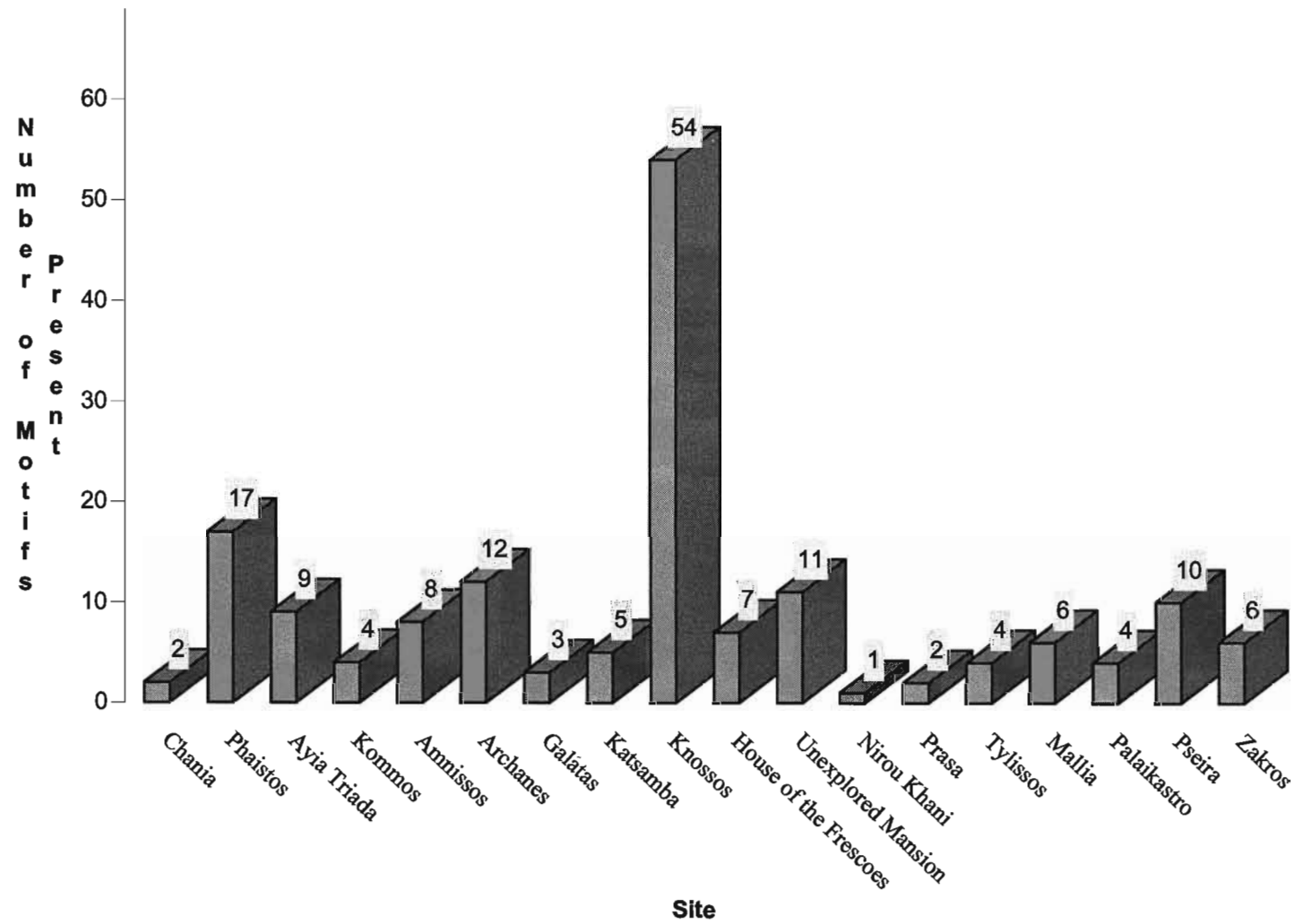
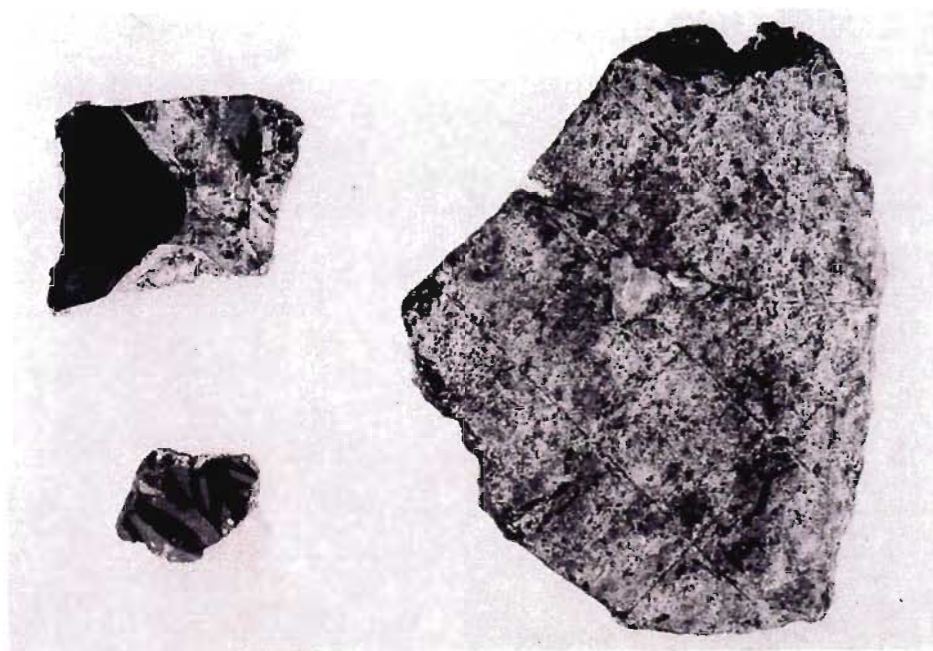


Chart 29: Total Number of Motifs Present by Site (n=69)



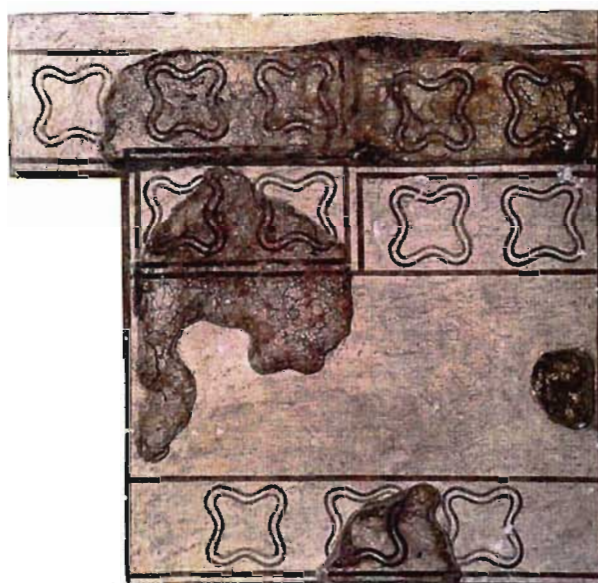
PLATES



CH 001



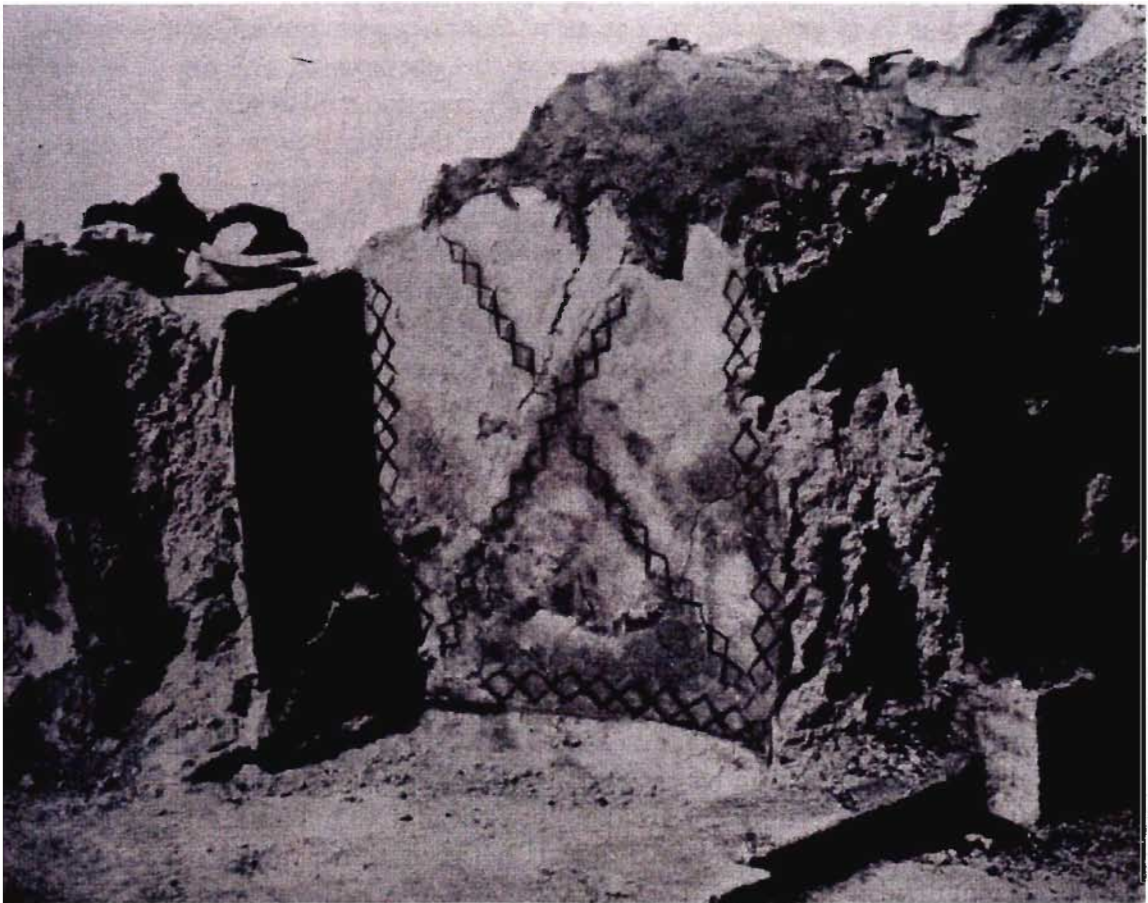
PH 001



PH 002



PH 003



PH 004



PH 005



PH 006



PH 007



PH 008



PH 009



PH 010



PH 011



PH 012



PH 013



PH 014



PH 015



PH 016



PH 017



PH 018



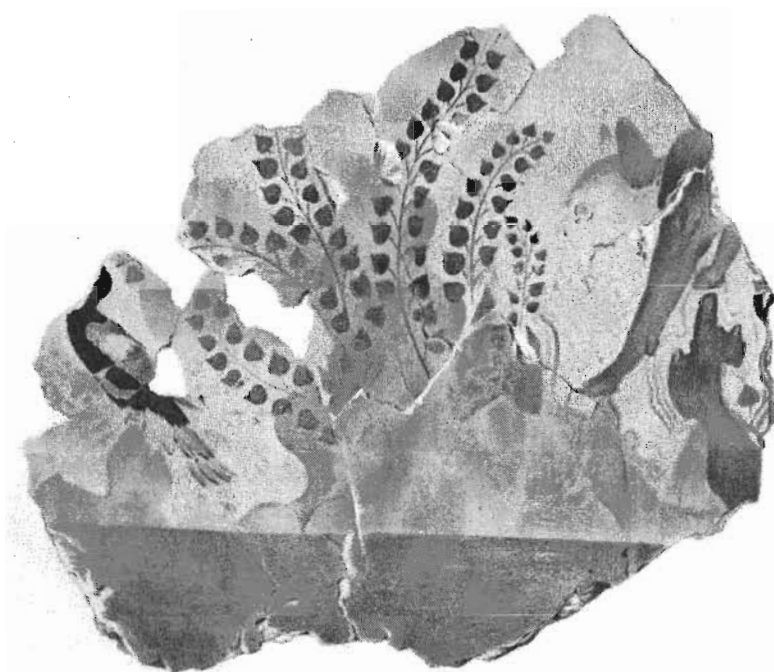
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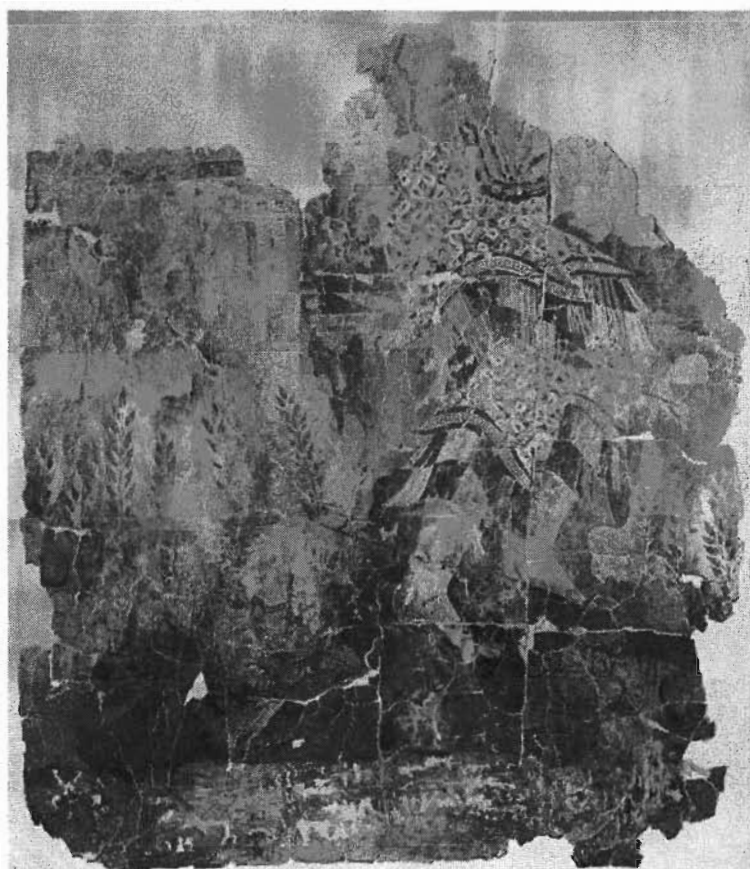
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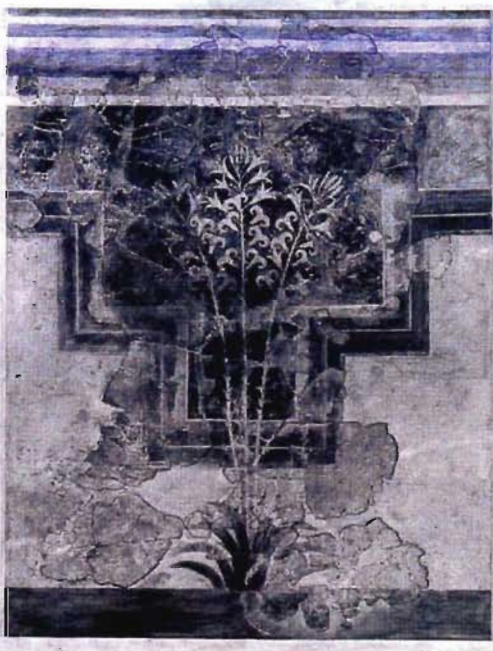
AT 003



AT 004



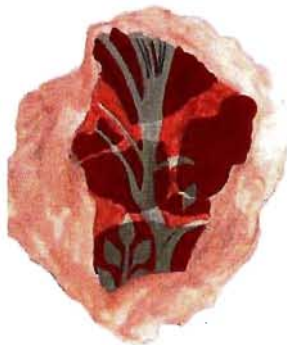
KO 001



AM 001



AM 002



AR 001

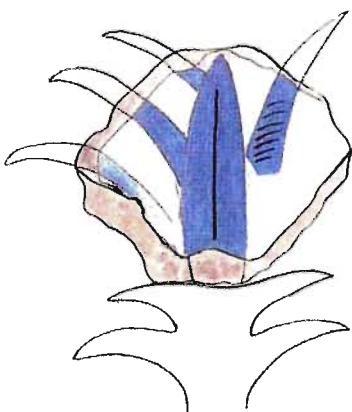


AR 002



AR 003

AR 004



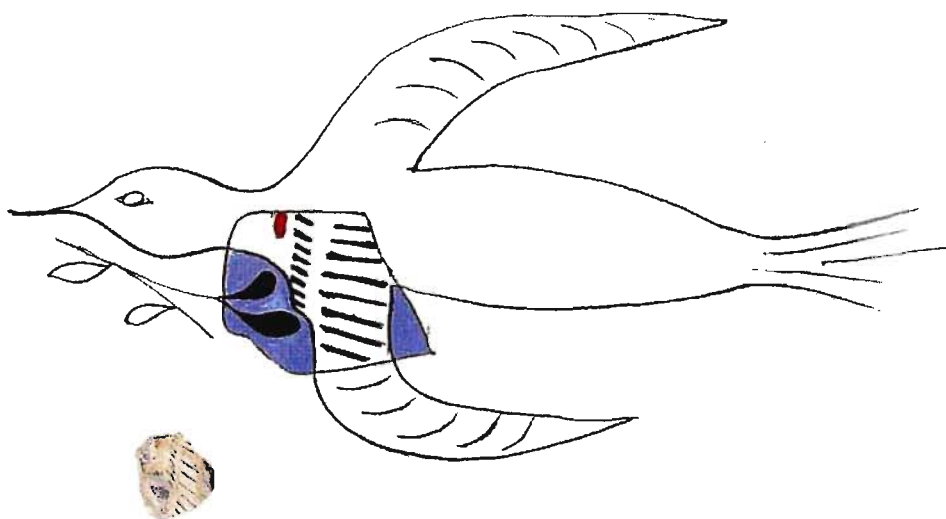
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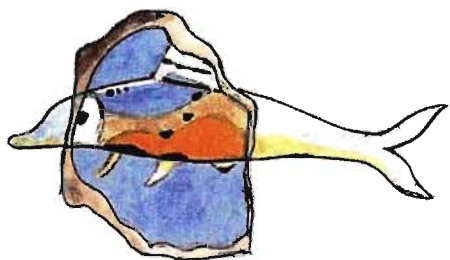
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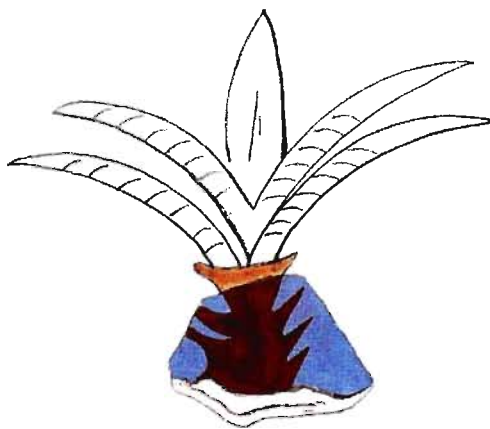
AR 007



AR 008



AR 009



AR 010



AR 011



AR 012



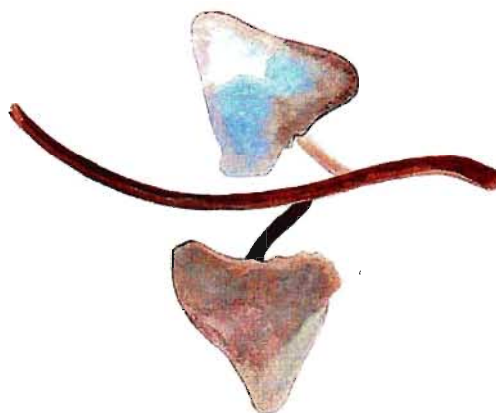
AR 013



AR 014



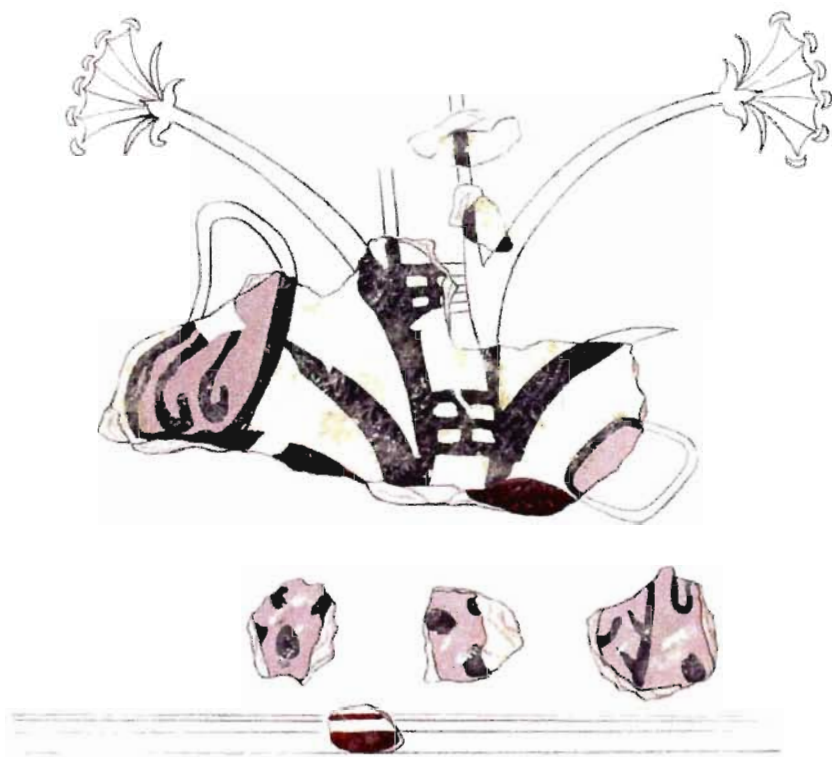
AR 015



AR 016



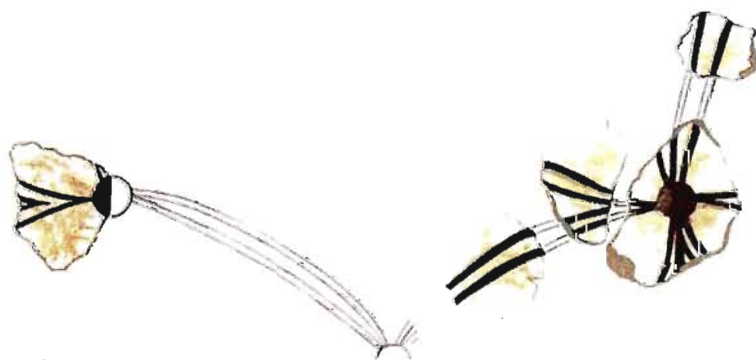
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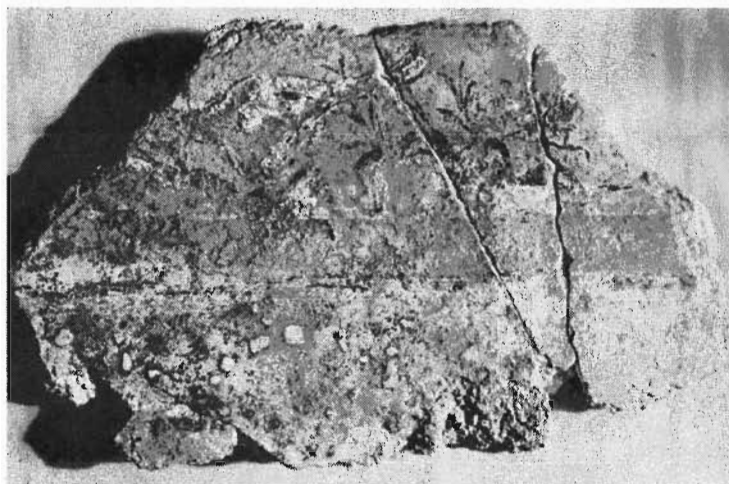
GA 001



GA 002



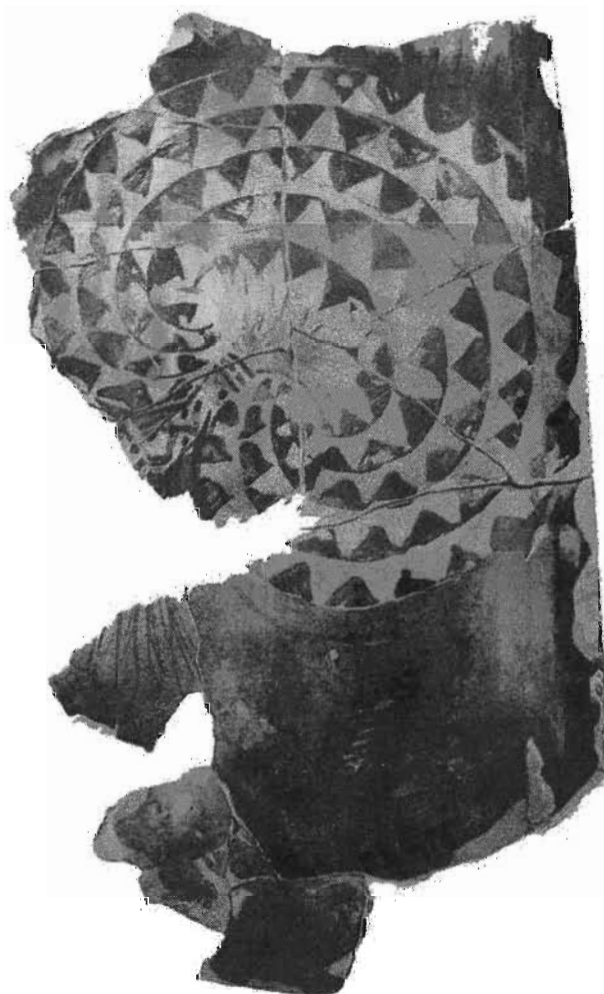
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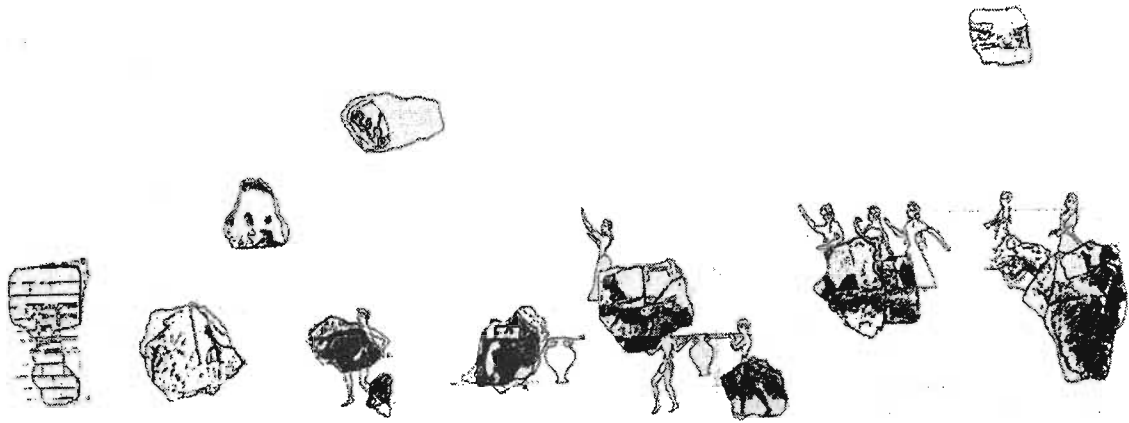
KA 001



NK 001



TY 001



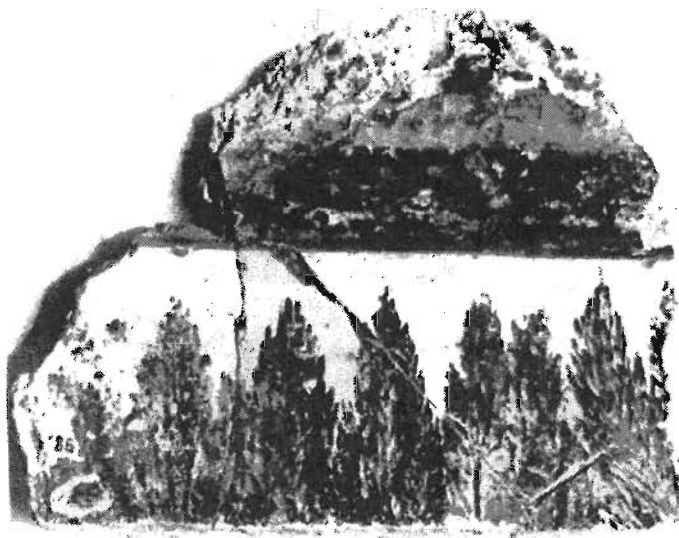
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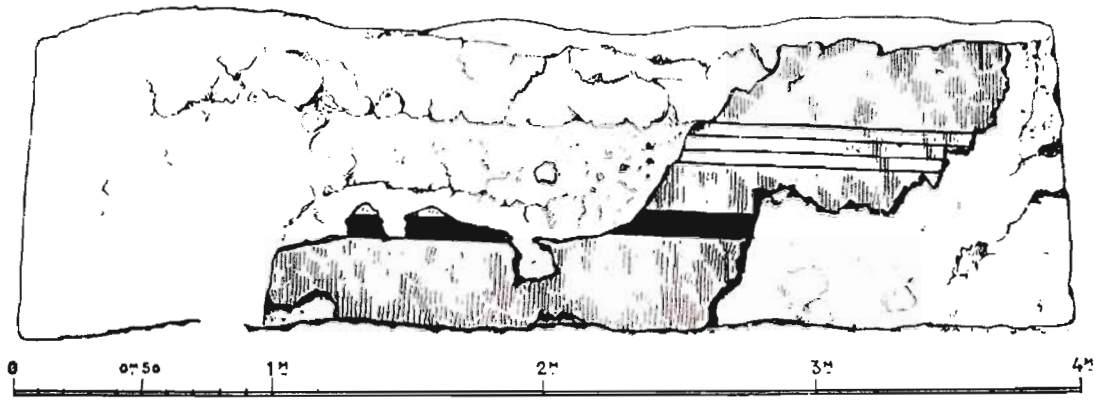
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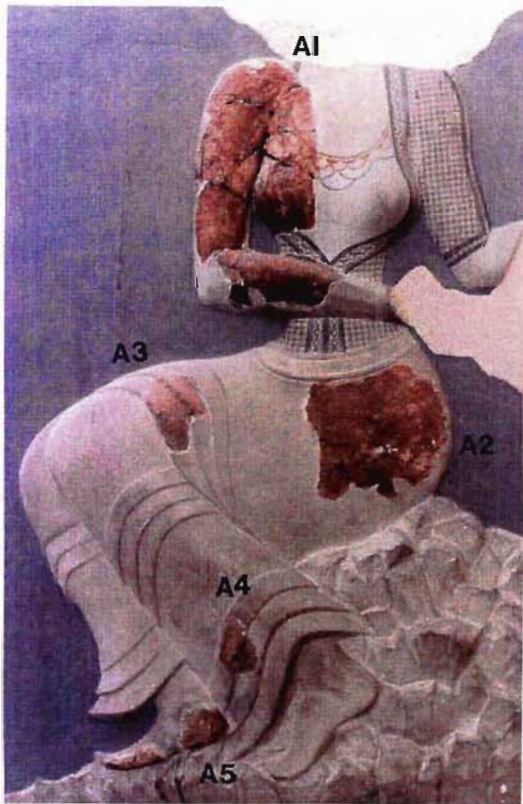
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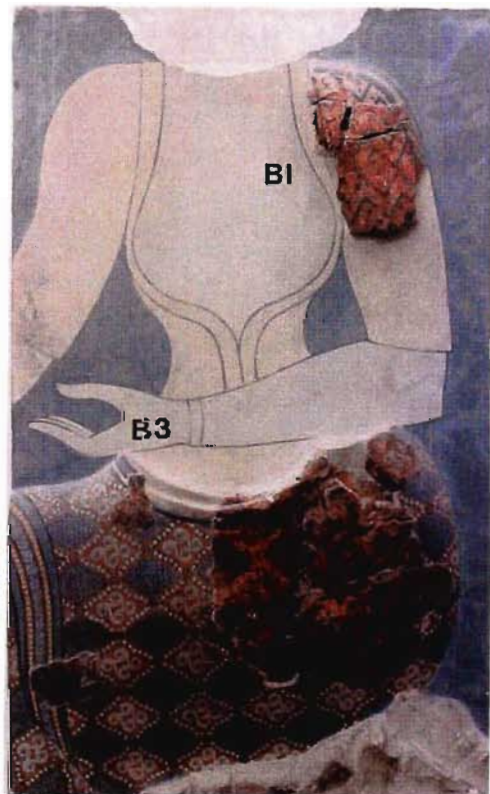
PR 001



MA 003



PS 001



PS 002



PS 003



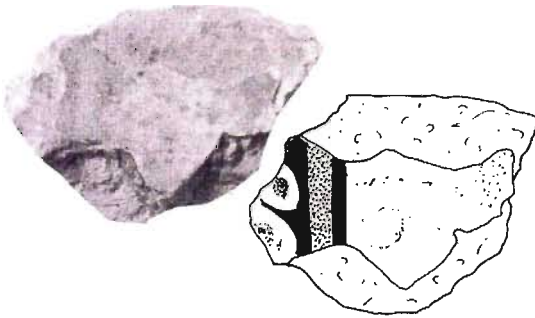
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PS 005



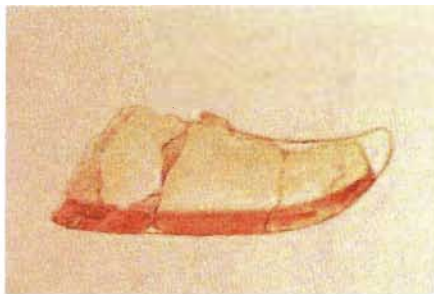
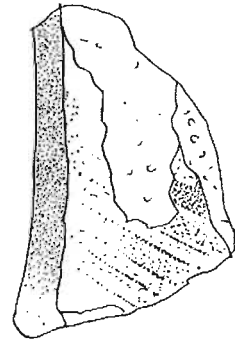
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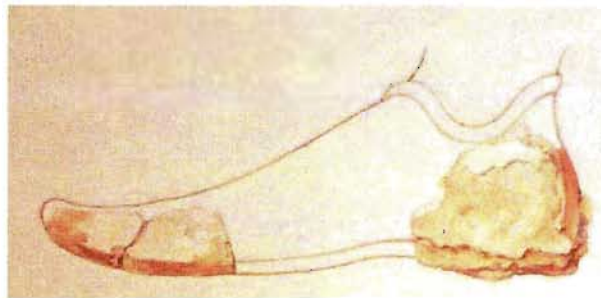
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PS 008



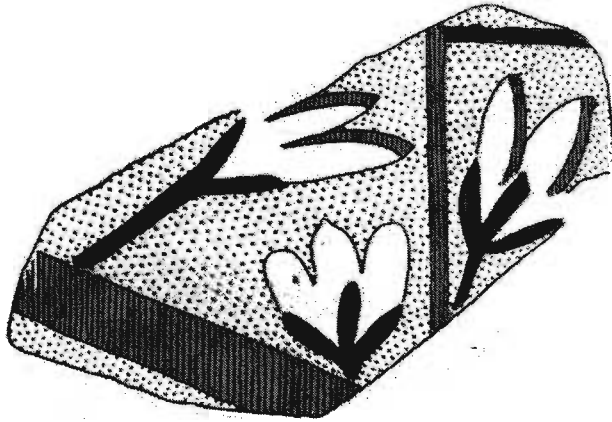
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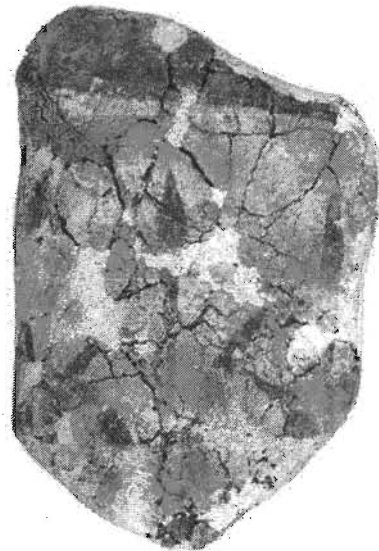
PS 010



PS 011



PK 001



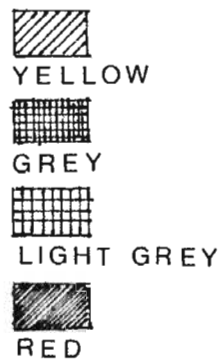
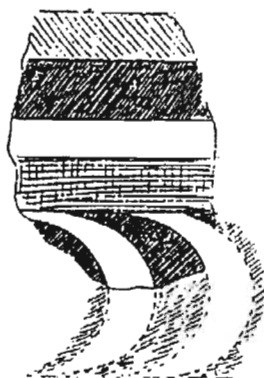
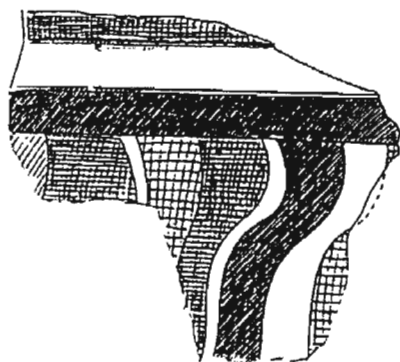
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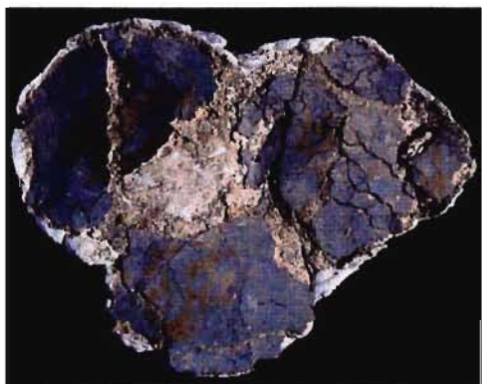
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ZA 006



KN 001



KN 002



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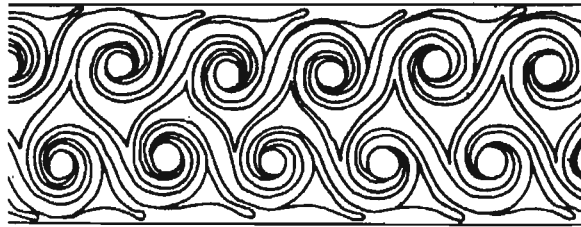
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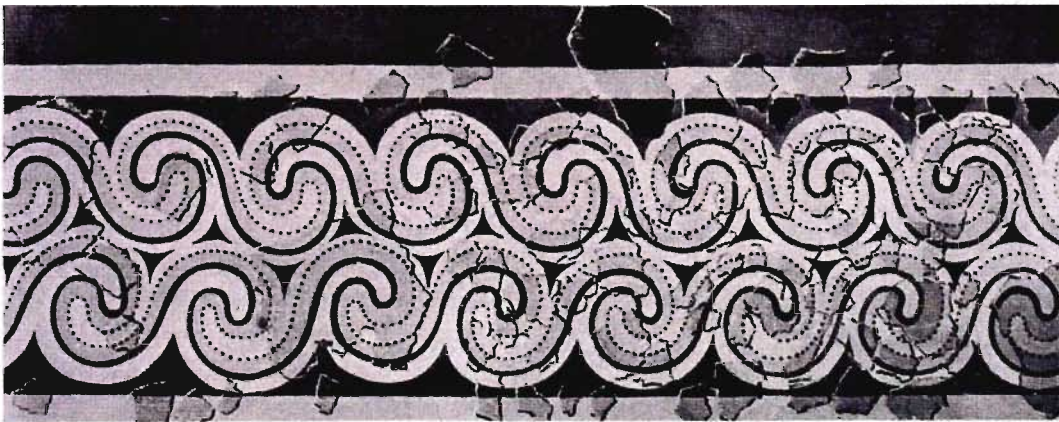
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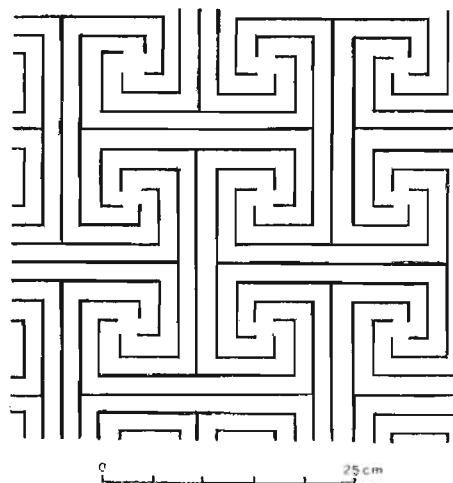
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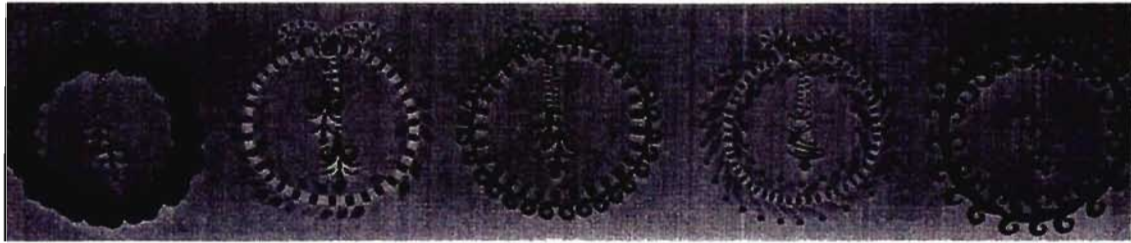
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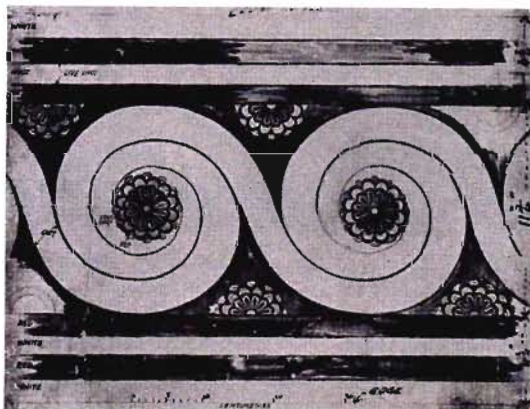
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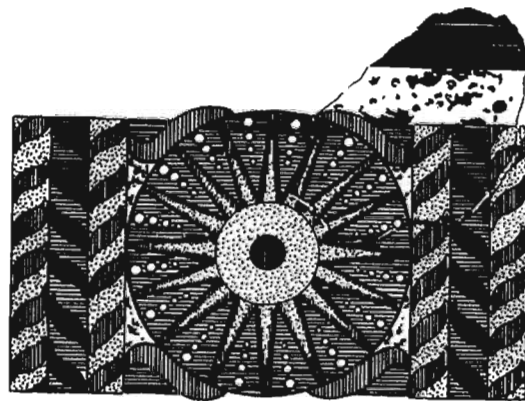
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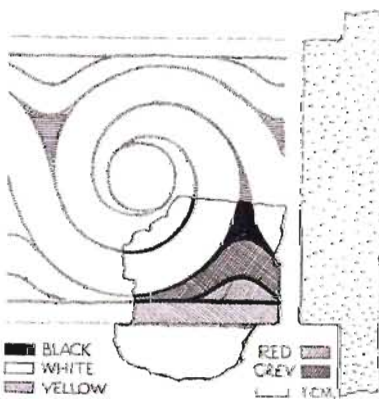


KN 018



■ BLUE ■ RED, ■ YELLOW ■ BLACK

KN 019



KN 020



KN 021



KN 022



KN 023



KN 025



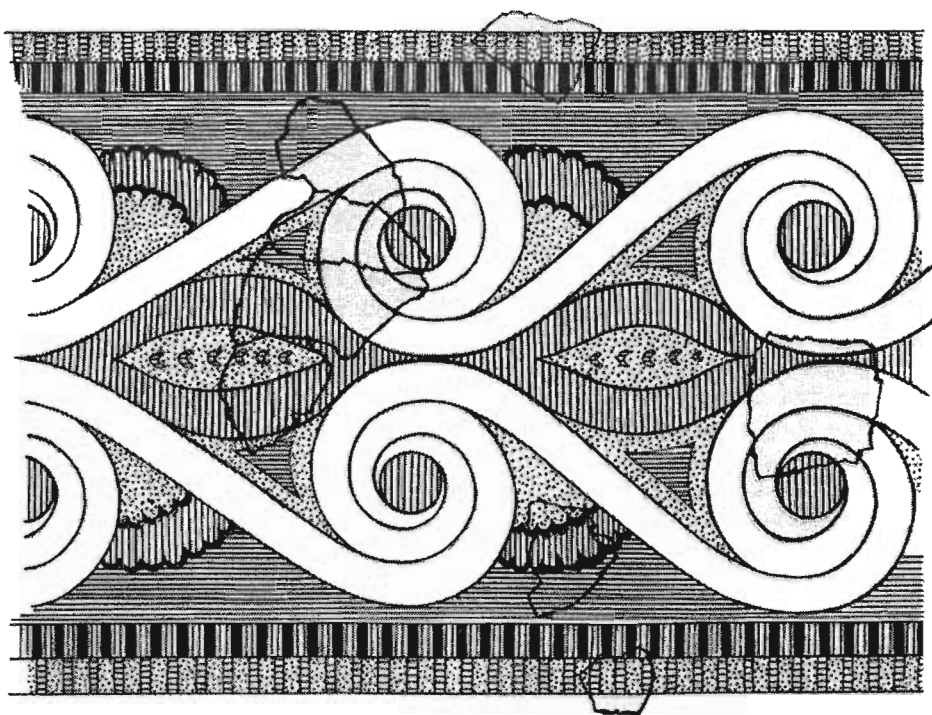
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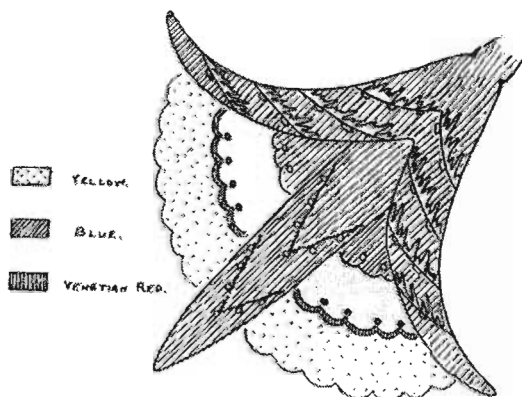
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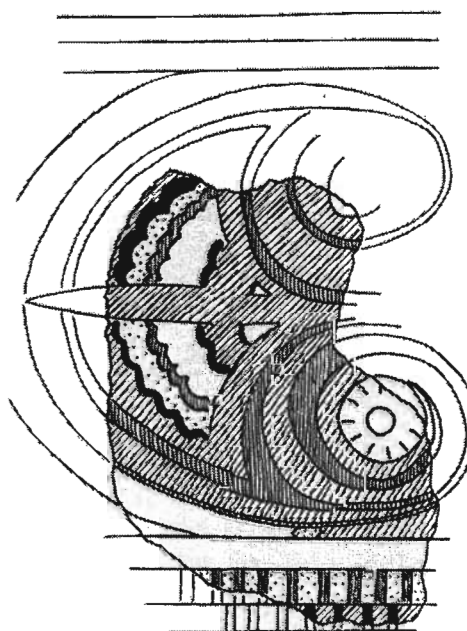
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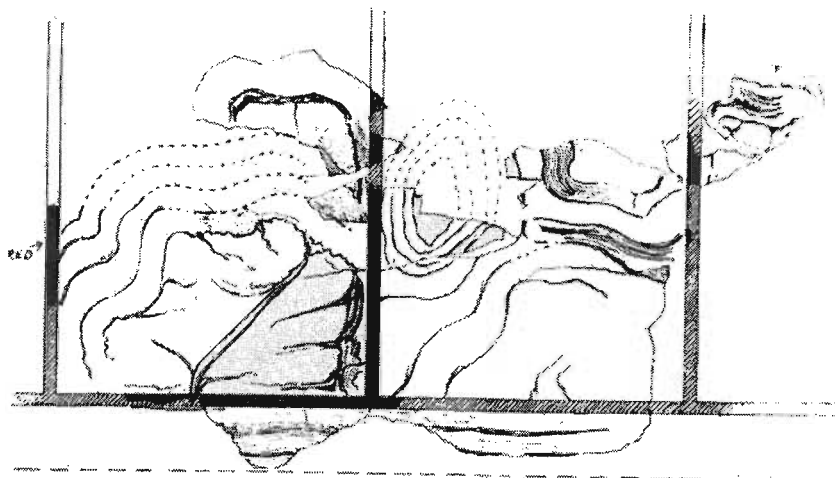
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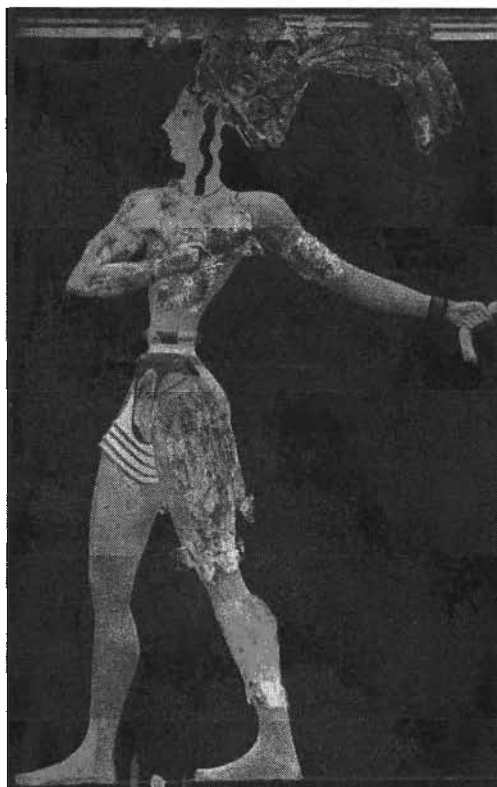
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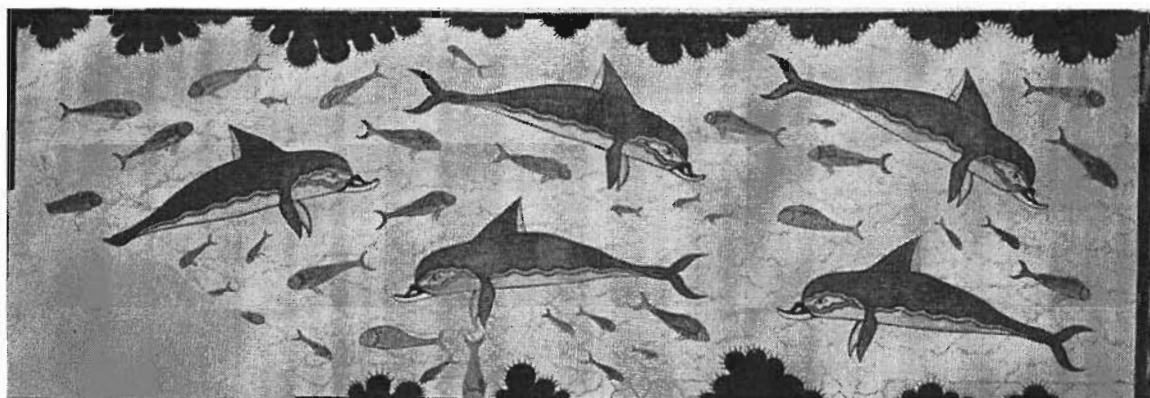
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KN 033



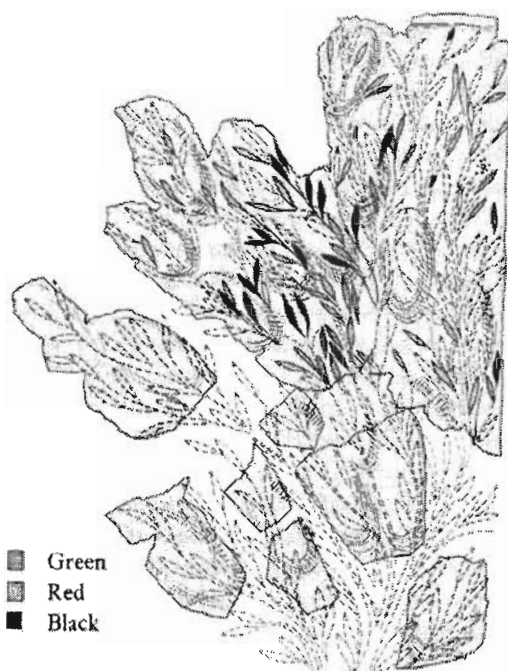
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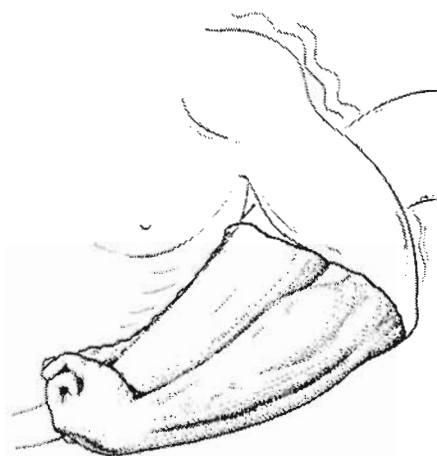
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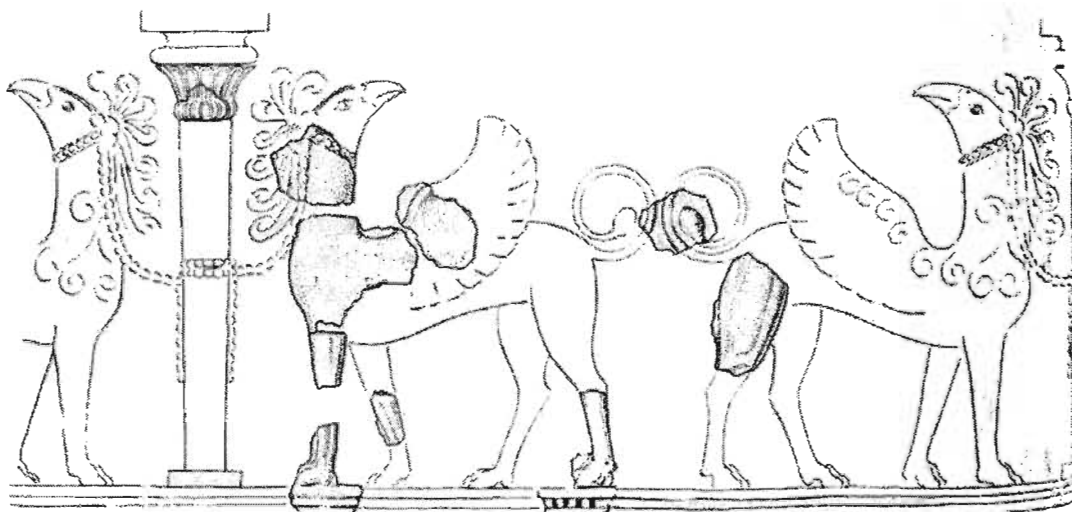
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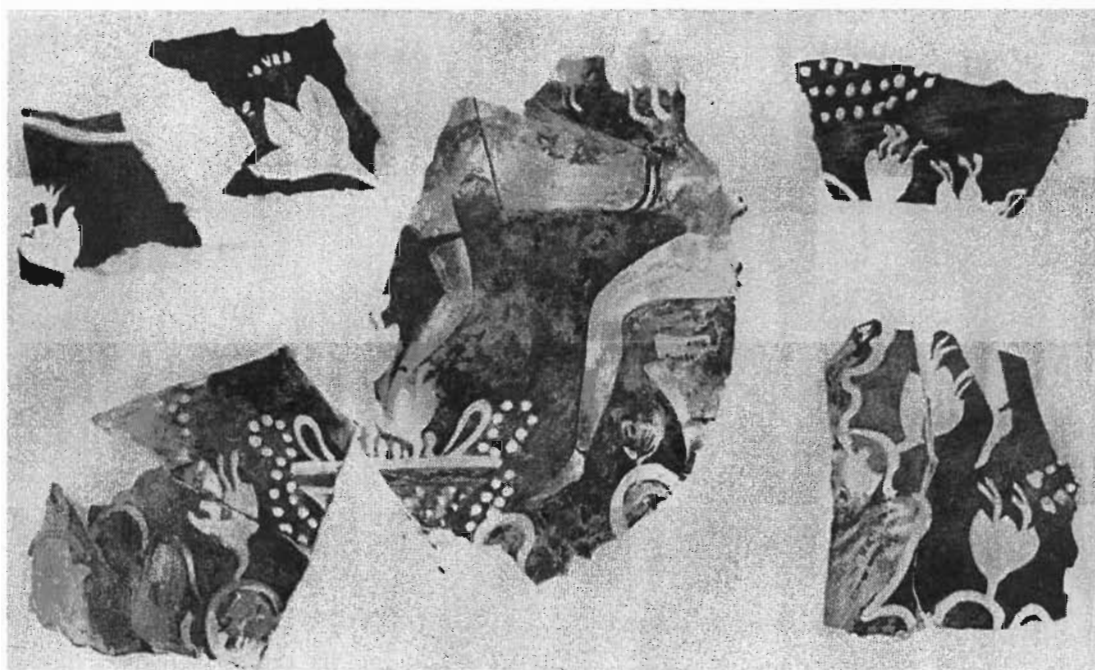
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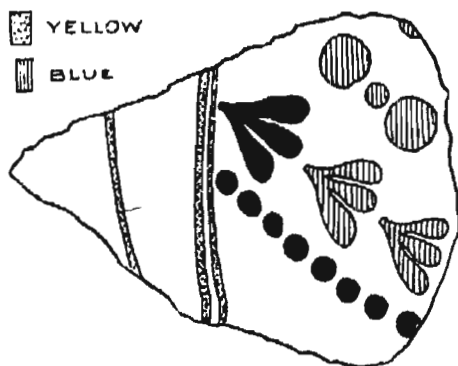
KN 039



KN 040



KN 041



KN 046



KN 048



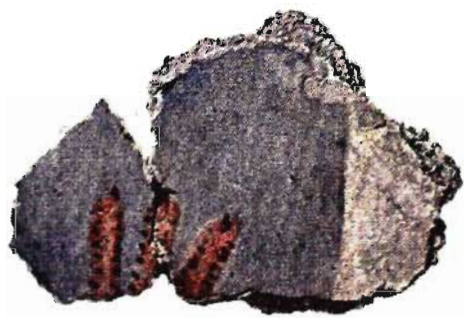
KN 047



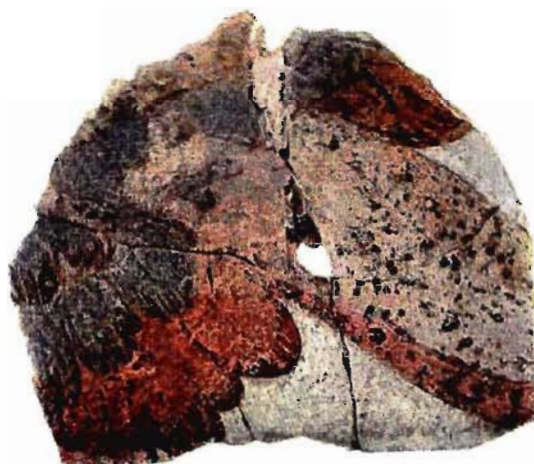
KN 049



KN 050



KN 051



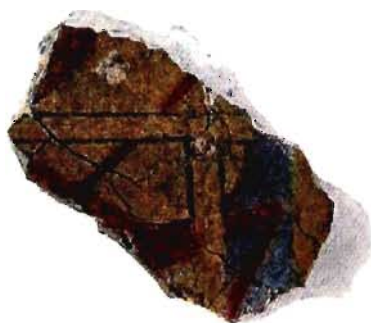
KN 052



KN 053



KN 054



KN 055



KN 056



KN 057



KN 058



KN 059



KN 060



KN 061



KN 062



KN 063



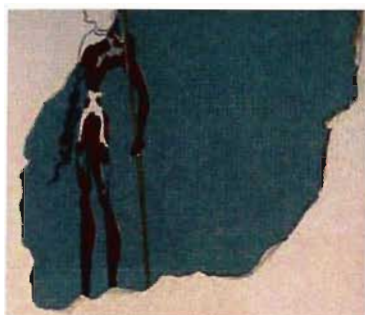
KN 064



KN 065



KN 066



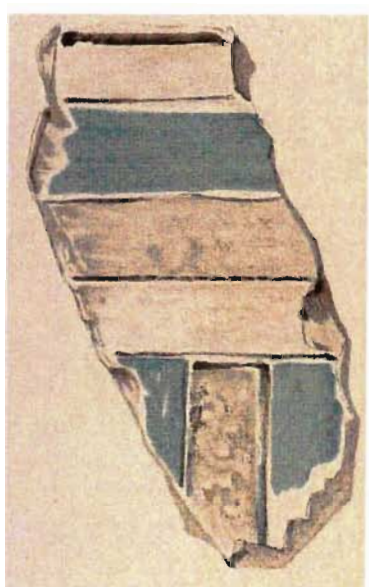
KN 067



KN 068



KN 069



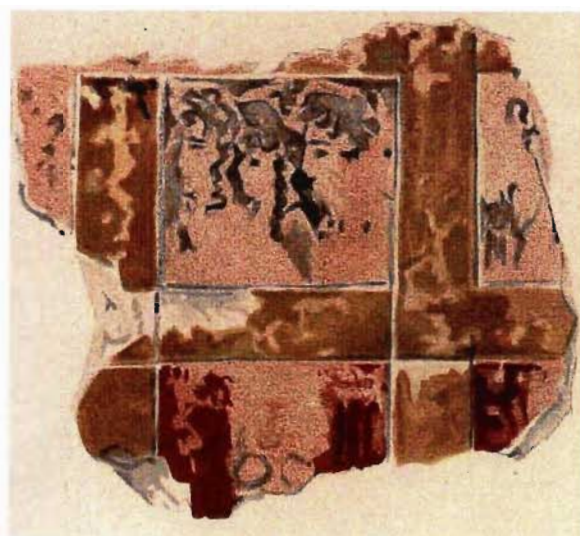
KN 070



KN 071



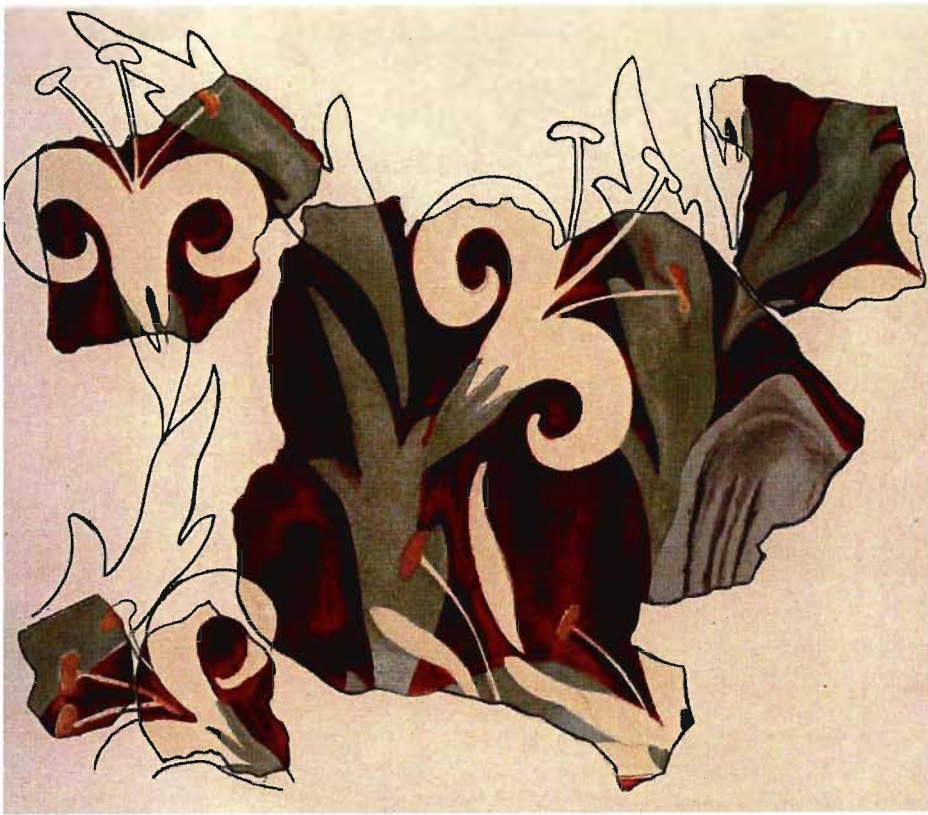
KN 072



KN 073



KN 074



KN 075



KN 076



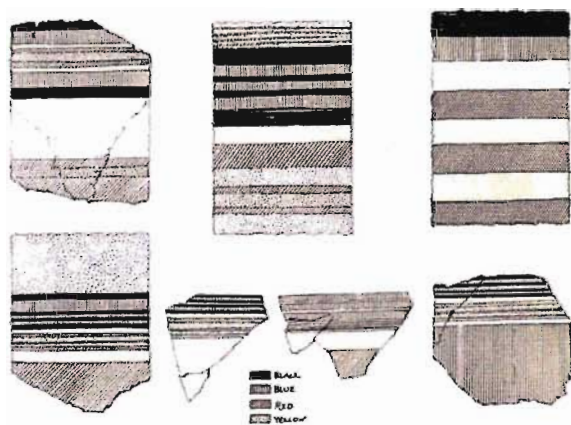
KN 077



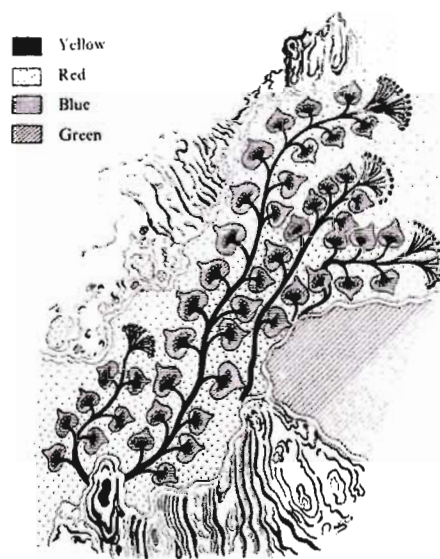
KN 084



KN 085



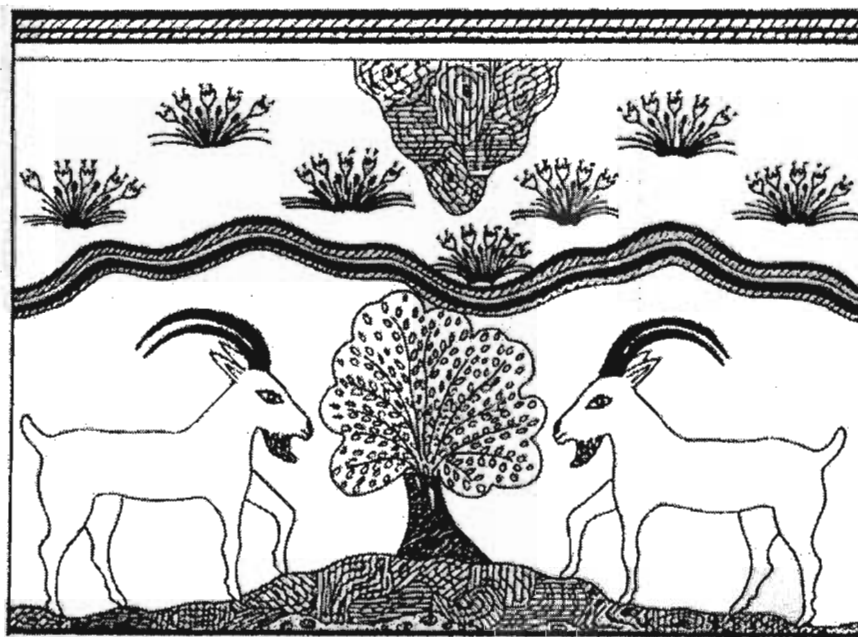
HF 001



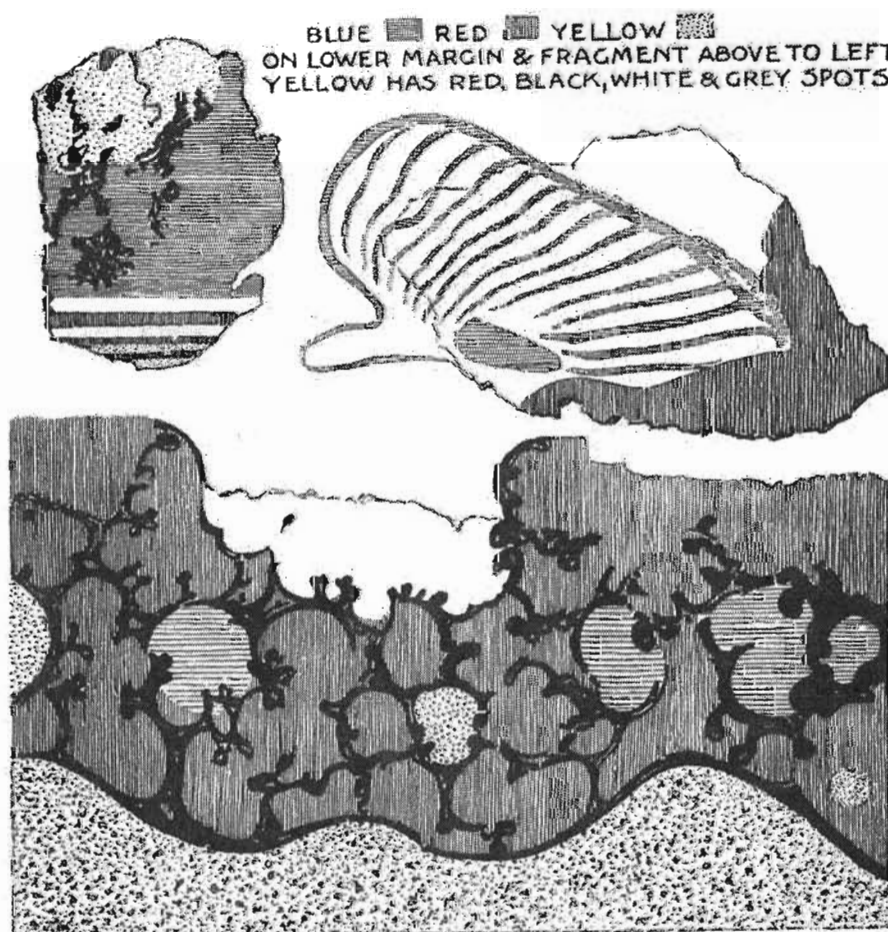
HF 002



HF 003



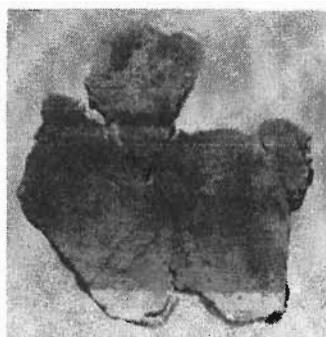
HF 004



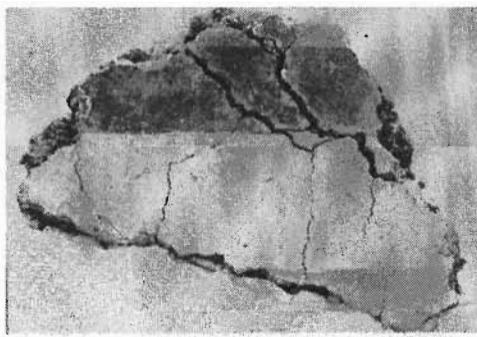
HF 005



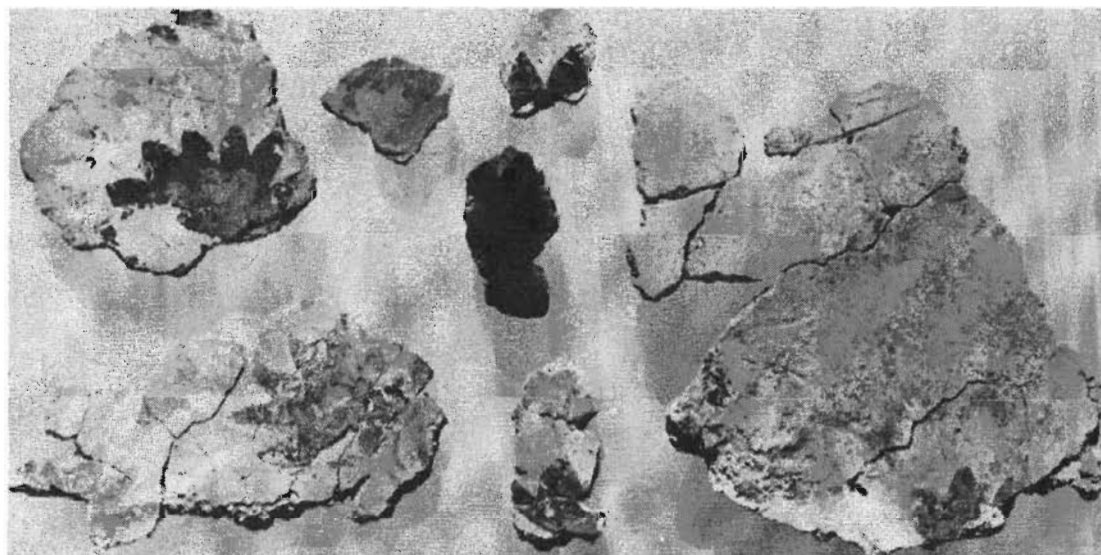
UM 001



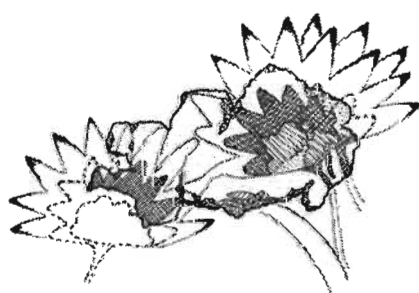
UM 002



UM 003



UM 004



UM 005



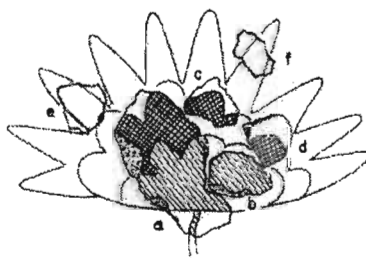
UM 006



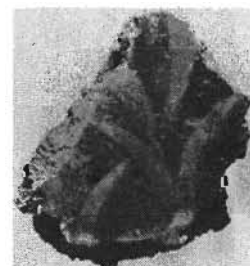
UM 007



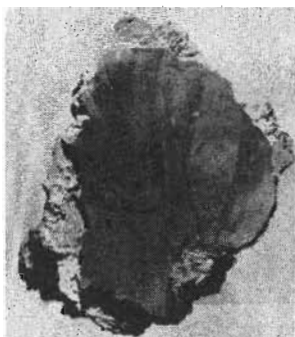
UM 008



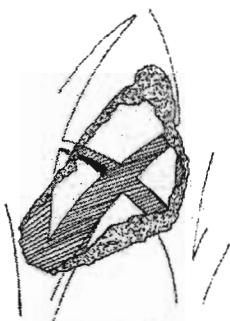
UM 009



UM 010



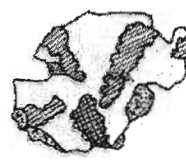
UM 011



UM 012



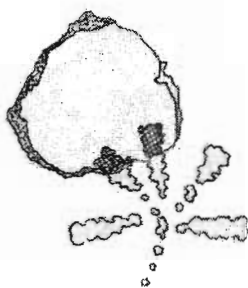
UM 013



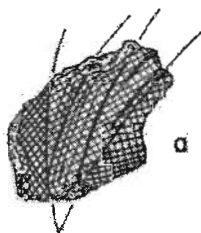
UM 014



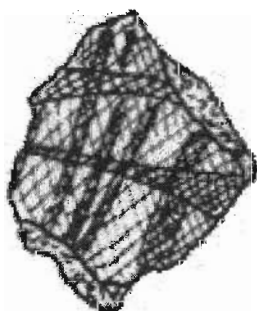
UM 015



UM 016



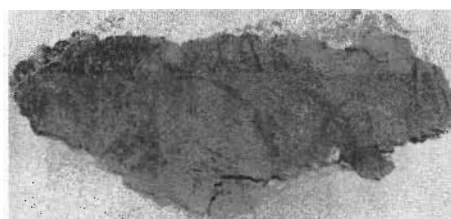
UM 017



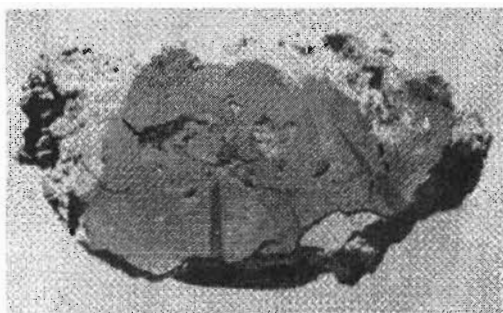
UM 018



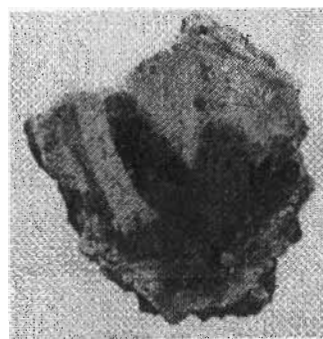
UM 019



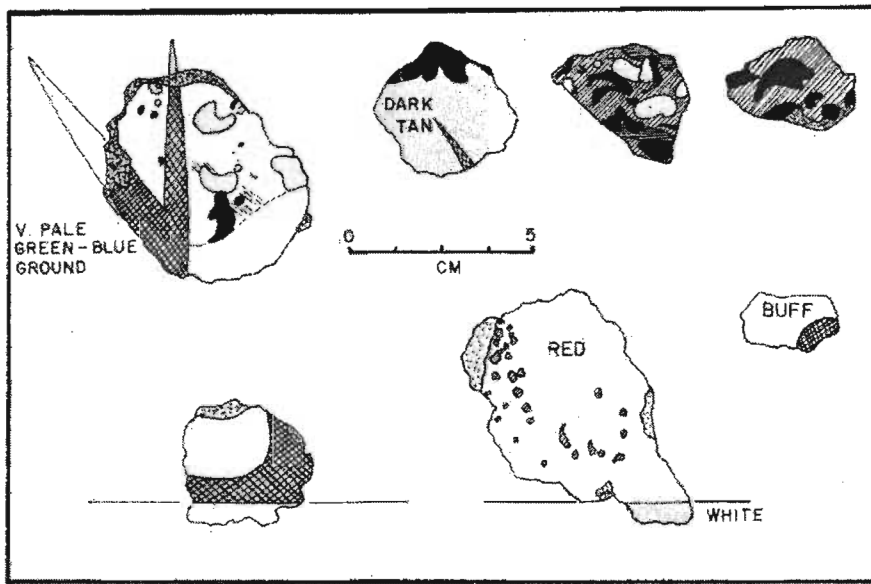
UM 020



UM 021



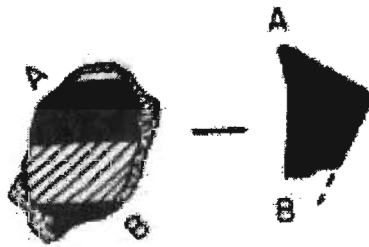
UM 022



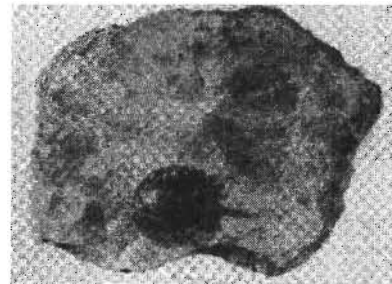
UM 023



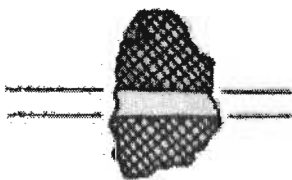
UM 024



UM 025



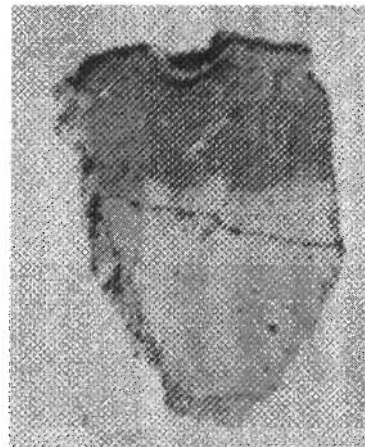
UM 026



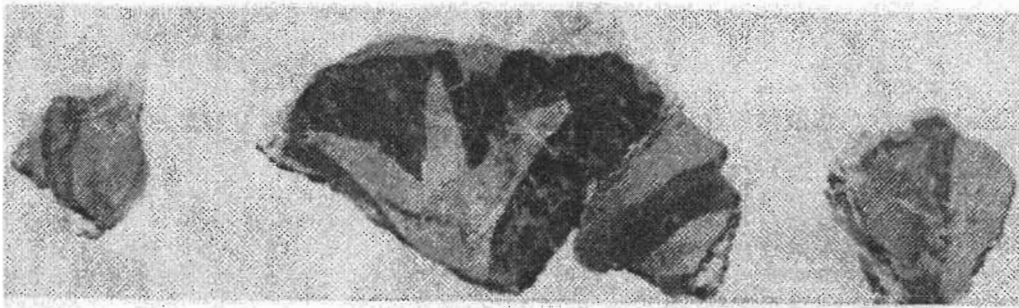
UM 027



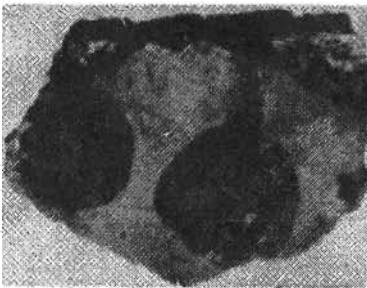
UM 028



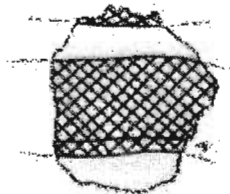
UM 029



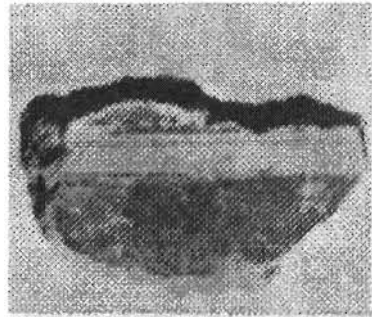
UM 030



UM 031



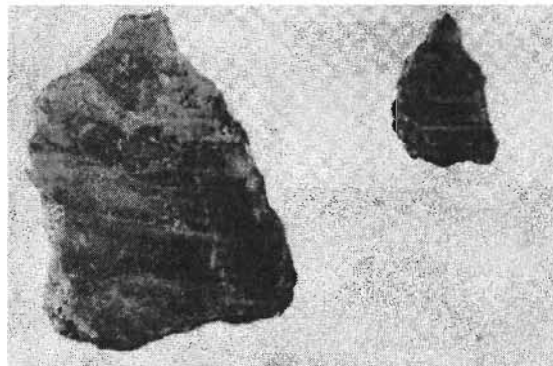
UM 032



UM 033



UM 034



UM 035



UM 036



UM 037

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Fresco Database

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
AM 001	Vegetal		Garden		<input type="checkbox"/>	Am 1		
Location						Common Name		
Room 7 of villa, near N. wall						Lily fresco		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III/LM IA	VE03	AB13	AB14			red?	green, tan, white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Schäfer 1992, 287 fig. 2, tafel 69a				Evans 1964 (vol.IV), 1002, suppl. Pl. LXVIIb				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AM 002	Vegetal		Garden	<input type="checkbox"/>	Am 2			
Location					Common Name			
along west wall of Room 7					"Mint" and Iris Fresco			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III/LM IA	VE01						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Schäfer 1992, 294, fig. 3, tafel 69b			Evans 1964 (vol. IV),1002, suppl. Pl. LXVIIa					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AM 003	Vegetal		Garden	<input type="checkbox"/>	Am 3			
Location					Common Name			
near south wall of Room 7					Dado w Offering Tables			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III/LM IA	VE09	VE02	AB14	AB07	AB29		
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Schäfer 1992, 259, fig. 4								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 001	Vegetal	Abstract		<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Floral Motif			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE10					red	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 480a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
AR 002	Vegetal							
Location							Common Name	
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Blue Background Floral	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE10	VE01				blue	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 480b								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
AR 003	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Myrtle Leaves	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE07					white	green
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, figs. 474, 482								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
AR 004	Abstract	Human?				<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Possible Necklace	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AB26					white	green
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 481								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
AR 005	Vegetal				<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia						Blue Plant		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE07	VE10	AB10			white	blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 483a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
AR 006	Vegetal	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia						Two Blue Leaves		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE07					white	blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 483b								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
AR 007	Animal?					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Possible Bull?	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AB26					white	blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 483c								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
AR 008	Animal		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Bird Fragment	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AN01					blue	white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 484								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 009	Marine		Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Fish Fragment			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	MA03					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 485								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 010	Vegetal		Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Palm Tree Trunk			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE10					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 486								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 011	Vegetal		Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Crocus Stalks			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE02					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 487								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 012	Vegetal		Minitaure	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Crocus Stalks			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE06						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 488								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 013	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location							Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Nilotic Scene			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours		
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE01								
Main Source				Other Source 1						
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 489										

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 014	Human			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Outlined Human			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	HU01						brown
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 478								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AR 015	Marine			✓				
Location					Common Name			
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia					Seashells			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	MA04						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 491								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
AR 016	Vegetal					✓			
Location							Common Name		
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Ivy Leaves		
Period		Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		LM IA	VE09						
Main Source				Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 492									

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
AR 017	Animal					✓		
Location							Common Name	
Area 19 - Tourkoyeitionia							Standing Bird	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AN01						white, blue, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Sakellarakis and Sakellarakis 1997, fig. 490								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
AT 003	Vegetal	Animal	Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>	A.T. 1		
Location						Common Name		
Room 14 - East Wing of Villa						Cat Fresco		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	VE09	AN03	AN04	AN01			
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Walberg 1986, Frontispiece				Chapin 2004, fig. 3.2b				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
AT 004	Human	Vegetal	Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>	A.T. 1			
Location					Common Name			
Room 14 - East wing of Villa					Nature Frescoes with Goddess			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	HU01	VE02	VE03	TE02	AB23		
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Immerwahr 1990, pl. 18								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 001	Human	Textile				✓	Ch 1	
Location							Common Name	
Kastelli excavations							Lifesized Female	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	TE03	HU01					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Kaiser 1976, tafel 471								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 002	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 015			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome Red w Brushstrokes			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					red	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 003	Abstract		Monochrome			<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 016a	
Location							Common Name	
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E							Monochrome Blue w Brushstroke	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					blue	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 004	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 016b			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome Blue w String Impressions			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 005	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 016c-d			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome I. Blue w Frits			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					light blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 006	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 016e			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome blue w Brushstrokes			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 007	Abstract		Monochrome			<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 019/025b	
Location							Common Name	
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E							Monochrome reddish-brown	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					reddish-brown	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c: 1/5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 008	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 030c			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome reddish-brown			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					reddish-brown	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 009	Abstract		Monochrome			<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 030d	
Location							Common Name	
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E							Monochrome thin orange-brown	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					orange-brown	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 010	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 046c			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome wine-red			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					wine-red	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 011	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 046d			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome bright blue			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					bright blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 012	Abstract		Monochrome			<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 046e	
Location							Common Name	
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E							Monochrome light blue	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					light blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 013	Abstract		Monochrome			<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 046f	
Location							Common Name	
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E							Monochrome blue with frits	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
CH 014	Abstract		Monochrome	<input type="checkbox"/>	70-FR 046g			
Location					Common Name			
AKSK - Rubish Area North 16-Pit E					Monochrome blue border			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III - LM IA	MO01					white	blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 160c:8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
CH 015	Abstract		Monochrome			<input type="checkbox"/>	01-FR 005	
Location							Common Name	
AKSK							Monochrome reddish-brown high polish	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM I/II	MO01					reddish-brown	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hallager and Hallager 2003, pl. 162c:3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
GA 001	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Pillar Hall							Miniature Landscape	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIA	VE04	AB13				tan	red, green, grey
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Rethemiotakis 2002, pl. XVIa								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
GA 002	Abstract	Vegetal?				<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Building 1							Lozenges	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB - LM IA	AB17					tan	red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Rethemiotakis 2002, pl. XVIIa								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
GA 003	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Building 1							Plants	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB - LM IA	VE07					tan	green/blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Rethemiotakis 2002, pl. XVIb								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
HF 001	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
House of the Frescoes					Borders			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		AB13						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1964 (vol. II), pl. 20								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
HF 002	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
House of the Frescoes							Sacral Ivy	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	TE01	VE04					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hood 1978, fig. 50a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
HF 003	Animal	Vegetal	Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 2	
Location							Common Name	
Room D							Monkeys and Bluebird frieze	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	AN06	AN01					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol. II), pls. X-XI				Evans 1964 (vol. II), figs. 262, 264, 270, 272				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
HF 004	Animal	Vegetal	Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 3			
Location					Common Name			
Rooms E-F					Crocuses and Wild Goats			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	VE02	AN04					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1964 (vol. II), 459, fig. 271			Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pl. 3					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
HF 005	Marine					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
							Shells, Coralline Shore, Seaweed	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		MA04						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol. II), fig. 305								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KA 001	Animal	Abstract	Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Ka 1	
Location							Common Name	
partially excavated minoan building							Miniature Fresco of flying birds	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	AB19	AN01	AB13	AB26		blue	black, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
M. Shaw 1978, figs. 1-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 001	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Loomweight Basement							Dado with Curving bands	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM IB/IIA	AB30						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hood 2005, fig. 2.27				Immerwahr 1990, fig. 6f				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 002	Abstract	Marine?				<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
North-West Portico							Sponge Imprint Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM IIIA/B	AB25					Dark blue?	Orange
Main Source				Other Source 1				
BSA Studies 13, pl. 8.1				Immerwahr 1990, Kn 2				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 003	Abstact		Miniature			✓	Kn 15-17	
Location							Common Name	
Early Keep Area							Spiral Reliefs	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/B	AB24						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Immerwahr 1990, kn 15-17				M. Cameron 1975, 690				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 004	Architecture	Animal	Miniature		<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Ivory Deposit below later floor in Treasure (13)						Ivory Deposit Miniature Fresco		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AB04	AB13	OB02				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hood 2005, 71; BSA Studies 13, pl. 8-3a				Shaw 1997, pl. CXCI				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 009	Textile					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 14	
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Textile Fragments	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	OB01	OB05					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
BSA Studies 13, pl. 9f			Evans 1967, pl. E, figs. 3a-b					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 010	Textile					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 14	
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Textile Fragments	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	OB03						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
BSA Studies 13, pl. 9g				Evans 1967, pl. E, fig. 3e-f				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 011	Architecture		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 18	
Location							Common Name	
XIII Magazine - Lower Stratum							Fragments of miniature frescoes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM II/III	OB02	OB05	AB18				
Main Source			Other Source 1					
BSA Studies 13, pl. 8-4c			Evans 1967, pl. V, no. 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 012	Textile					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 10	
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Bands of Ivy Leaves and Dotted Spirals	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	TE01	AB22	AB13	AB12			
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. E, fig 1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 013	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 36	
Location							Common Name	
Loomweight Basement							Double interlaced spiral band	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III (?)	AB24						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Immerwahr 1990, fig. 39b				Evans 1964 (vol. I), figs. 269-70				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 014	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 37	
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Double interlaced spiral band	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III (?)	AB24						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1964 (vol. I), 374, fig. 272								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 015	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 38	
Location							Common Name	
Early Keep Area							Stucco relief of quadruple spirals	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	AB20						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1964 (vol. III), 30-31, pl. XV			Kaiser 1976, fig. 414					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 016	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 42	
Location							Common Name	
East of Hall of Double Axes							Labyrinth Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM IIIA	AB15						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hood 2005, fig. 2.30			Evans 1964 (vol. III), 356-58, fig. 256					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 017	Object	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 44		
Location						Common Name		
Excavations of Stratigraphic Museum						Fresco of the Garlands		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/B	OB04						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Warren 1985, fig. 1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 018	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Queen's Megaron - Bathroom							Fragments of spiral friezes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	AB20						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol. III), 381-84, figs. 254, 259, 229				Immerwahr 1990, fig. 39a				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 019	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
XIII Magazine					Sunburst Frieze			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IB	AB11	OB08	AB27	AB13			
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol. I), fig 343								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 020	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
High Priest's House					Spiral Border			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB24						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol. IV), fig. 170								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 021	Abstract			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
NW Fresco Heap					Embossed bands			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AB26	AB22	AB05				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. E, fig. 2				Hood 2005, fig. 2.10				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 022	Abstract	Animal		<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
NW Fresco Heap					Griffin or Sphinx			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AN07	AB28					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. E. fig. 3c, k, h				Evans 1964 (vol. III), 40, fig. 25f				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 023	Abstract	Animal				<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Sphinx	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AN08						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV, fig. 16				Hood 2005, fig. 2.9				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 024	Abstract	Animal			<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
NW Fresco Heap						Seated Sphinx		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AN08	AB18	AB05	AB12			
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. IV, fig. 17			Hood 2005, fig. 2.8					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 025	Abstract	Vegetal			<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
NW Fresco Heap (?)						Rosette Fragment		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB18						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. E. fig. 3d								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 026	Abstract	Vegetal			<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Unknown Provenience						Rosette Band		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB18	HU03					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. IV, fig. 14								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 027	Abstact				<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Unknown Provenience						Spiral Band		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB24	AB28	HU03				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV, fig. 13								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 028	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Spiral Band	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB24	AB16	AB26	HU03			
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV, fig. 19								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 029	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Hall of the Double Axes (Upper Storey)					Double Spiral Band			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB21	AB28	AB02	AB05			
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1964 (vol.III), fig. 193								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 030	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Stylised Lily	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		VE03						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.IV), fig. 865								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 031	Abstract	Vegetal		<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Spiral Lily			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		VE03	AB21	AB28				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.IV), fig. 866								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 032	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Imitation Marble Dado			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB29						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.I), fig. 255								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 033	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Spiral and Waves			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB24	AB01					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.I), fig. 401b								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 034	Human		Single	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Kn 7			
Location					Common Name			
Basement, near surface on east side of North-South Corridor					"Priest-King" Relief			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE03	HU02					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Immerwahr 1990, pl. 19				Hood 1978, fig. 57				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 035	Marine					<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 6	
Location							Common Name	
Queen's Megaron: late stratum along East border of East light area							Dolphin Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	MA02	MA03					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Immerwahr 1990, pl. 31								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 036	Animal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 20	
Location							Common Name	
Caravanserai							Frieze of Partridges and Hoopoes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	AN01	VE08					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hood 1978, fig. 41			Immerwahr 1990, pl. 30					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 037	Abstract	Vegetal	Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 40		
Location						Common Name		
Hall of Double Axes: beneath surface layer in East light-well						Sacral Ivy and Papyrus		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AB20	TE01	VE04				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Immerwahr 1990, fig. 39e				Evans 1964 (vol.III), 294, fig. 193				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 038	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
North Entrance Passage							Olive Sprays	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE07						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Hood 1978, fig. 56a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 039	Human	Animal	Taureador			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Kn 8		
Location							Common Name		
North-South Corridor (East Hall)							Man seizing bull's horns		
Period	Relative Date		Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA		HU02	AN02					
Main Source				Other Source 1					
Hood 1978, fig. 56b									

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 040	Animal	Architecture				✓	Kn 8	
Location							Common Name	
North-South Corridor (East Hall)							Griffins tied to pillars	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AN07	AR01	AB28				
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hood 1978, fig. 56c								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 041	Animal	Vegetal	Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 1			
Location					Common Name			
Early Keep Area					Saffron Gatherer			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	AN06	VE05				red	blue, green
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Immerwahr 1990, pls. 10-11								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 042	Vegetal	Animal	Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 4		
Location						Common Name		
South House						Nature Scenes		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIb/LM IA	AN01	VE06					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.II), 1, 357, fig. 211								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 043	Vegetal	Animal	Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 5	
Location							Common Name	
South-East House							Nature Scenes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	VE03	VE06	AN05			white/buff	green, red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. D, fig. 1				Evans 1964 (vol.I), 426, fig. 306; pl. VI				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 044	Human		Procession	<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 11			
Location					Common Name			
Royal Magazine (East Hall?)					Ladies in Blue			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	HU01	VE02					blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pl. 8			Immerwahr 1990, fig. 32b					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 045	Human		Single			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 12		
Location							Common Name		
Unknown Provenience							Lady in Red		
Period	Relative Date		Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA		HU01						red
Main Source				Other Source 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 046	Human	Textile			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 13		
Location							Common Name	
Corridor of the Procession: Earlier stratum							Skirt Fragments	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB/LM IA	AB05	AB26	VE01	HU01			yellow, blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1964 (vol.II), fig. 430a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 047	Architecture	Human	Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Kn 15	
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Grandstand Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/IB	HU01						white, blue, red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pls. B, fig. 1a-b, II, IIA				Evans 1964 (vol.III), figs. 28-34 pls. XVI-XVII				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 048	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	AM, AE 1711	
Location							Common Name	
Gallery of the Jewel Fresco							Flowering Olive Spray	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIB	VE07					blue	green, red, yellow
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. D, fig. 2				Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pl. 41				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 049	Vegetal.		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM, tray P X	
Location							Common Name	
Chamber NE of Excavated Area							Olive Spray	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		VE07					white	green, red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. D, fig. 3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 050	Vegetal		Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>	HM, tray 29		
Location						Common Name		
NW Fresco Heap						Plant		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		VE07					white	green
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. D. fig. 4								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 051	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>	HM unnumbered tray			
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Wheat?			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		VE06					blue	white, orange
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. D. fig. 5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 052	Animal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 37			
Location					Common Name			
NW Fresco Heap					Pheasant's Wing			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AN01					light blue	blue, brown, buff
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. D. fig. 6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 053	Human		Taureador	<input type="checkbox"/>	AM, AE 1708			
Location					Common Name			
Court of the Stone Spout					Leaping Girl			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Final Palatial	LM II	HU01	AB28	AB29			tan	white, black, blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. A. fig. 2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 054	Human		Taureador	<input type="checkbox"/>	AM, AE 1707			
Location					Common Name			
Court of the Stone Spout					Male Taureador			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Final Palatial	LM II	HU02	AB14				blue	white, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. A. fig. 1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 055	Human		Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 59			
Location					Common Name			
Room of the Forged Clay Seal/Room of the Clay Signet					Palanquin Fresco			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/IB	HU02					blue	white, red, yellow
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. C. fig 1, 3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 056	Textile	Human		<input type="checkbox"/>	AM, AE 1710			
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Butterflies on Dress			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		HU01						red, yellow, black
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. C. fig. 2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 057	Human		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM tray P X	
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Boys Playing	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	HU02					white	red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. C. fig. 4								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 058	Human		Miniature?	<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 11			
Location					Common Name			
North West Buttress: West of wall					Camp Stool Fresco			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Postpalatial	LM III A-B	HU01	VE07				blue	red, yellow, blue, black, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. C. fig. 5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 059	Object					<input type="checkbox"/>	HM tray sigma VI	
Location							Common Name	
Lapidary's Workshop							Bull's Head and Chariot	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		OB01					blue	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. C. fig. 6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 060	Human	Object				✓	HM 36	
Location							Common Name	
Gallery of the Jewel Fresco							Jewel Relief Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIB	HU02					white	red, yellow, blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pls 6-7			Evans 1967, pl. B. fig. 2					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 061	Human		Single	<input type="checkbox"/>	AM, AE 1706			
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Profile of Lady's Face			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		HU01						white, black
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. B. fig. 3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 062	Object		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 51		
Location							Common Name		
NW Fresco Heap							Ox-head with Elephant's Tusks		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours	
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	OB01					blue	black, white, red, yellow	
Main Source			Other Source 1						
Evans 1967, pl. E, fig. 3a									

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 063	Object		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 36	
Location							Common Name	
Ivory Deposit							Bull's Horn and Ear	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	OB05					blue	white, red, brown
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. E, fig. 3b								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 064	Textile	Object	Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM, tray PX 19-20	
Location							Common Name	
Early Keep Area							Embroidered Band with Flutes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		OB03	AB18				blue	black, white, yellow
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. E, fig. 3 e-f								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 065	Human		Single			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 19	
Location							Common Name	
Light Area East of the Queen's Megaron							Dancing Girl	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	HU01					white	black, blue, orange
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. F. fig. 2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 066	Human		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 63	
Location							Common Name	
Miniature Deposit							Warriors Hurling Javelins	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIB	HU02					blue	red, white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 1-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 067	Human		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM gamma VI	
Location							Common Name	
Miniature Deposit							Youthful Officer	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	HU02					blue	red, black, white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 068	Vegetal	Textile?				<input type="checkbox"/>	HM rho X	
Location							Common Name	
Ivory Deposit							Lilies	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		VE03					blue	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 6-7								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 069	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>	HM gamma VI	
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Plant Design	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		VE01					white	red, black, yellow
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 070	Architecture		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM rho VI	
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Miniature Fresco of Architectural Subject	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		AR01						white, blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 9								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 071	Human		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Miniature Fresco; Woman's Head	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		HU01					blue	white, black, yellow
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig 10								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 072	Textile	Human				<input type="checkbox"/>	HM gamma VI	
Location							Common Name	
NW Fresco Heap							Row of Lilies	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIB	HU03	VE03	AB13				white, blue, red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig 12								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 073	Human	Architecture	Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
NW Fresco Heap					Women in Casements			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	HU02	AR01				buff	red, black, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 15								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 074	Human	Textile		<input type="checkbox"/>	HM rho X			
Location					Common Name			
Unknown Provenience					Belt and Part of Kilt			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		HU03						blue, red, yellow, black
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Evans 1967, pl. IV. Fig. 18								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 075	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 40	
Location							Common Name	
South-East House							Lily Sprays	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM IIIA/B	VE03					red	green, white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. VIII. Fig. 1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 076	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	HM 39	
Location							Common Name	
Unknown Provenience							Olive or Myrtle	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial?		VE10	VE07				white	green
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1967, pl. VIII. Fig. 3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 077	Animal		Taureador			✓		
Location							Common Name	
North Entrance Passage							Bull Reliefs	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AN02						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
BSA Studies 13, pl. 27-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 078	Human	Vegetal	Miniature		<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
NW Fresco Heap						Sacred Grove Fresco		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/B	HU01	HU02	VE10	AR01			red, white, blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
BSA Studies 13, pl. 10-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 079	Human	Textile		<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Queen's Megaron: late stratum along East border of East light area					The Dancing Lady			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/B	HU01	AB32					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
BSA Studies 13, pl. 28-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KN 080	Animal			✓				
Location					Common Name			
Service Staircase					Bull in Relief			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III/LM IA	AN02						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Kaiser 1976, 260, 283, 293								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 081	Animal					✓		
Location							Common Name	
Loomweight Basement							Bull's Foot in Relief	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM IIIA	AN02						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
BSA Studies 13, pl. 27-3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 082	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Below Floor of Magazine of the Medallion Pithoi							Spiral Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM IIIA	AB20						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.I), 374-75								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 083	Human		Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room of the Forged Clay Seal/Room of the Clay Signet							Charioteer Frescoes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA/IB	AN02	OB10				blue	reddish-brown, yellow, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
BSA Studies 13, pl. 20-4c			Evans 1967, pl. C, figs. 1,3,6					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KN 084	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Royal Road							Myrtles	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		VE07						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pl. 40a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
KN 085	Vegetal		Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Savakis Bothros						Crocus Flowers and Rockwork		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		VE02	OB09					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Cameron 1976, pl.3a-b								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
KO 001	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Ashlar Building T (stoa) Room 19							Wide Horizontal Bands - four colours	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB13	AB14					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
J. Shaw 1984, plate 54f								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KO 002	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building X - Room X1					Lily Fresco			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE03	OB09				ochre	white
Main Source			Other Source 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
KO 003	Object	Vegetal	Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building T					Rocky Terrain			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	OB09						
Main Source			Other Source 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
MA 001	Human?			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
palace					gray and red stucco (heads?)			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		HU03						grey, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
MA 002	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
palace - corridor XIX					bands and marbling			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB29	AB13	AB14				
Main Source			Other Source 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
MA 003	Abstract			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
palace - in situ Room XXIV.1					Stucco			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		AB13	AB14					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Chapouthier and Joly 1936, plate IV-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
MA 004	Abstract	Vegetal		<input type="checkbox"/>	Ma 1			
Location					Common Name			
in situ in House E					Decorative Fresco from House E			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB13	AB29	AB02	AB18			
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Dessene and Deshayes 1959, pls. LXXIII and LXXIVa								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
MA 005	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
House in Quartier Nu					Papyri			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		VE04						
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
MA 006	Human			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
House in Nu					Part of White Face			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
		HU03						white
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
NK 001	Objects			<input type="checkbox"/>	N.C. 1			
Location					Common Name			
Room 17 of Villa					Sacral Knot			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	OB06						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pl.56			Evans 1964 (vol.II), 284, fig. 168					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 001	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Phs 1	
Location							Common Name	
MM house on south slope							Fragments of decorative frescoes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AB24	AB13	AB27				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Pernier 1935, pl. XL, 1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 002	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>	Phs 2			
Location					Common Name			
floor of Room LIV					Painted Stucco floor and wall Plaster			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial		AB16						brown
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pls. XXIV & LXXXVa				Immerwahr 1990, fig 6c-d				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 003	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>	Phs 2			
Location					Common Name			
unspecified room					fragments of wall plaster			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial		AB15						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVb								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 004	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Phs 5	
Location							Common Name	
INSITU stuc. niches at north end of central court							Lattice Work Fresco	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB17						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Evans 1964 (vol.I), fig. 271				Pernier 1935, fig. 277				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 005	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	Phs 1	
Location							Common Name	
MM house on south slope							Fragments of decorative frescoes	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	AB02	AB14					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Pernier 1935, pl. XL, 5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
PH 006	Abstract				<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
						Rosettes		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
protopalatial		AB18	AB26	AB13				
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Pernier 1935, pl. XL, 2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 007	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
							Possible Spiral	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
protopalatial		AB20						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Pernier 1935, pl. XL, 3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 008	Abstract				<input type="checkbox"/>	F. 6709a-c		
Location							Common Name	
dump with all periods represented to hellenistic							Dentate Band	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
protopalatial	MM?	AB01						red, blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIIb: 1-4				Walberg 1986, fig. 85				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 009	Abstract							
Location							Common Name	
Grande Frana							Circles	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
protopalatial	MM II?	AB07	AB08					red, black
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa			Walberg 1986, fig. 86					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
PH 010	Abstract				<input type="checkbox"/>	F 6718		
Location						Common Name		
Piazzale at Phaistos - above layer of concrete over old palace						Large Spiral		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III	AB20	AB07					red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa:6				Walberg 1986, fig. 86				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
PH 011	Vegetal				<input type="checkbox"/>	F 6713		
Location						Common Name		
Chalara (east of palace)						Red/Blue floral		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM/LM	VE01	VE04					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa:3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 012	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>	F 6717	
Location							Common Name	
Room of Old Palace with MM II Kamares							Abstract	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM II	AB20						red, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa:1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 013	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Black and Red Curvilinear			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB30	AB20				red	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIb: 6-7								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 014	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Old Palace							Solid Blue	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	MO01					blue	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIb: 5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PH 015	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Old Palace							Tri-colour band	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB13	AB30?					
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa: 7								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 016	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Red/White banding			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB13						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa: 8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 017	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Red/White Verticle Banding			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB14						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa: 9								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 018	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Blue Drizzle			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB26					white	
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa : 10								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 019	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Blue Waves			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB29	AB13				white	red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa: 11								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 020	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Fragment with Foliate Band			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB14	AB02					red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa: 4								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PH 021	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Old Palace					Fragment Series			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Protopalatial	MM?	AB14	AB13					red, blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Levi 1976, pl. LXXXVIa: 5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PK 001	Human	Textile		<input type="checkbox"/>	Pa 1			
Location					Common Name			
excavations of Block E, Room 18					Crocuses			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	VE02						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Bosanquet and Dawkins 1932, fig. 130								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PK 002	Human	Textile		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Pa 1			
Location					Common Name			
excavations of Block E, Room 18					Stucco Relief of Female			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB28	HU03					
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PK 003	Vegetal			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building 6					Vetch or Wild Pea			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB	VE07					beige	blue, green
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PK 004	Animal			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building 6					Possible Griffin			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		AN07						
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PK 005	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building 6					Marbling in 'sgraffito'			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		AB29					beige	red
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PR 001	Vegetal		Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>	Pr 1			
Location					Common Name			
					Cypress Trees			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE10						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Kontorli-Papadopoulos 1996, pl. 59								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PR 002	Human					<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
							Large Scale Woman	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM III- LM IA	HU01						
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PS 001	Human	Textile				✓		
Location							Common Name	
Building AC							Lady of Panel A	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		HU01						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, colour plate A				M. Shaw 1998, pls. 20b, 22, 23, 24, 25a				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PS 002	Human	Textile				✓		
Location							Common Name	
Building AC							Lady of Panel B	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		HU01						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, colour plate B				M. Shaw 1998, pls. 20c, 21a, 25b, 26, 27, 28, 29				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PS 003	Textile	Abstract				✓		
Location							Common Name	
Building AC							Textile Fragment	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	TE02	AB13	AB26				white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. C - 2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PS 004	Textile	Abstract		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building AC					Textile Fragment			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB13	AB20					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. C - 4								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PS 005	Textile	Abstract		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building AC					Textile Fragment			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB13	AB20					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. C - 6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PS 006	Abstract	Textile?		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Building AC					Abstract Fragment			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB12						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. C - 5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PS 007	Textile	Abstract		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	C6			
Location					Common Name			
Building AC					Fragment from Seated Ladies			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB02						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. 33 - C6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PS 008	Abstract					✓	C15	
Location							Common Name	
Building AC							Fragment form Seated Ladies	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB12						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. 36 - C15								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PS 009	Human					✓				
Location							Common Name			
Building AC							Foot Fragment			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours		
Neopalatial	LM I	HU03								
Main Source				Other Source 1						
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. C - 3										

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
PS 010	Human					✓		
Location							Common Name	
Building AC							Foot Fragments	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	HU03						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, Pl. C - 1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
PS 011	Human			✓	C1/K4			
Location					Common Name			
Building AC					Relief Arm			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	HU01						white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, pl. 31								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
PS 012	Abstract	Human			✓	C11/K21		
Location						Common Name		
Building AC						Red Band and Foot		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	HU01	AB13					red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
M. Shaw 1998, pl. 34, C11								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
TY 001	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Ty 2	
Location							Common Name	
House A, Room 17							"Fan" or Triple palm	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	VE10						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hazzidakis 1921, pLIX			M. Shaw 1972, figs. 10-11, 14					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
TY 002			Miniature			<input type="checkbox"/>	Ty 1		
Location							Common Name		
House A, Room 17							Miniature Frescoes		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours	
Neopalatial	LM I	HU02							
Main Source				Other Source 1					
Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996, pl. 58				M. Shaw 1972, figs. 1-9, 13					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
TY 003	Human		Procesional			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
unknown							Three Women	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		HU01						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hazzidakis 1921, pl. VII								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
TY 004	Human	Vegetal	Miniature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
unknown					Fighting Men			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		HU02						
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Hazzidakis 1921, pl. VIII								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
TY 005	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
House C					Flowers			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	VE01						
Main Source			Other Source 1					

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 001	Abstract		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower store room					Border Pieces			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	AB13						blue, brown
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 43a1; 46-1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 002	Abstract		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Border Pieces			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	AB13					buff	red, blue, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 43a2; 46-2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 003	Abstract		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level							Border Pieces	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	AB13					buff	red, white
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl.43b; 46-3								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 004	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Anemone Pieces			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01	VE07				buff	red, grey, dark buff, blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl.43c1; 46-5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 005	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level							Anemone Pieces	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01					buff	grey, red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl.43c2; 46-6								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 006	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Anemone Pieces			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01					buff	grey, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl43c3; 46-7								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 007	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Anemone Pieces			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01					buff	grey, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl43c4-5; 46-8								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 008	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Anemone Pieces			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01						grey, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl43c6; 46-9								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 009	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level							Anemone Pieces	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01						grey, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl43c7; 46-10								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
UM 010	Vegetal		Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level						Blue Plant Stems		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE07					buff	blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl.43d; 46-12/13								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 015	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					'Frilled' Flowers			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01					buff	blue, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl.44a4; 46-19								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 016	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					'Frilled' Flowers			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE01					buff	blue, red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44a5; 46-20a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 017	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Grasses			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE06					red	
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl.44b1; 47-25								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 018	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level							Grasses	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE06					red	brown
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44b2; 47-26								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
UM 019	Vegetal		Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level						'Osier' Plants		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE07					light grey/dark	red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44c; 47-28/34b								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 020	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level							'Osier' Plants	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE07					dark tan	brown
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44d: 47-27								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 021	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					Grasses			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE06					buff	red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44e: 47-24a								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 022	Vegetal		Nature	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level					'Osier' Plants			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE07					buff/dark tan	red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl.44f: 47-31								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
UM 023	Vegetal	Abstract	Nature		<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower storage level						Rockwork Fragments		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IB	VE07	AB26				buff	tan, red, blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 47; 36 to 40c								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 024	Abstract					✓		
Location							Common Name	
Room P; fallen from Upper Floor into lower level							Red Spiral w Moulded Background	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AB20					grey	red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 42								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 025	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room C							Blue and Black Bands	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIA	AB13						blue, black, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 46: pl. 45d1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 026	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room C							Speckled Dado	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB-LM IA	AB27					grey-white	black, yellow
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49: 47: pl. 45d2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 027	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location							Common Name			
Room H							Narrow white band w red areas			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours		
Neopalatial	MM IIIA	AB13						white, red		
Main Source				Other Source 1						
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 50										

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 028	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Room H					Blue and White Spiral?			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIA/B	AB20						dull blue, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 52								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 029	Object		Nature			✓		
Location							Common Name	
Corridor L; outside Room P: Stray from Royal Road??							Rockwork Dado	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIA	OB09						grey, white
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49: 54; pl. 43f1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 030	Vegetal					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Corridor L; outside staircase N-O							Greyish-blue Lily	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	VE03					red	greyish-blue
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 55: pl. 43g								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 031	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Corridor L; under LM II floor					Red Blobs			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM IA	AB27					ochre	red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 58: pl. 43i								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
UM 032	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location							Common Name		
Room M							Curving Bands		
Period		Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		MM IIIA or B	AB30						terracotta, pinkish white
Main Source				Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 60									

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 033	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
Stairwell N-O					Red, white, black border striped			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIA or B	AB13						red, white, black
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 61: pl. 43f2								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 034	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
Room O							Skyblue Blob	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM II or earlier	AB27						blue
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 49; 62								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 035	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
North Platform					Imitation Wood Panelling			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIA	AB31					orange	red
Main Source			Other Source 1					
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 45d6-7								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 036	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
South Corridor							Imitation Wood Panelling	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB-LM IA	AB31					orange	red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44h1								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
UM 037	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
South Corridor							Red Speckeld Dado	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB-LM IA	AB27						red
Main Source				Other Source 1				
Popham et al. 1984, pl. 44h5								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type		Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
UM 038	Abstract				<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location						Common Name		
South Corridor						Dado w pale blue ground		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB-LM IA	MO01					pale blue	
Main Source				Other Source 1				

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
UM 039	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
South Corridor					Light pink dado			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	MM IIIB-LM IA	MO01					light pink	
Main Source		Other Source 1						

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
ZA 001	Abstract			<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Za 1			
Location					Common Name			
Banqueting Hall					Spiral Relief Frieze			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	AB20	AB18					
Main Source		Other Source 1						
N. Platon 1971, 172								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
ZA 002	Abstract			<input type="checkbox"/>				
Location					Common Name			
New Palace (unpublished >1990)					only decorative motifs			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I							
Main Source		Other Source 1						
N. Platon 1971, 83								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type	Relief	Alt. Ref. #			
ZA 003	Object	Architectural?	Miniature?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Za 2			
Location					Common Name			
INSITU - lustral basin of domestic quarter, rear wall of niches behind columns					Horns of consecration			
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial	LM I	OB05						
Main Source		Other Source 1						
N. Platon 1971, 182								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
ZA 004	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
villa at Epano Zakros							Reed Landscape	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		VE06						
Main Source				Other Source 1				
L. Platon 2002, pl XLVIIIa								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #	
ZA 005	Vegetal		Nature			<input type="checkbox"/>		
Location							Common Name	
villa at Epano Zakros							Lily-papyrus flowers	
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours
Neopalatial		VE03	VE04					
Main Source				Other Source 1				
L. Platon 2002, pl XLVIIIb								

Ref. #	Category 1	Category 2	Scene Type			Relief	Alt. Ref. #		
ZA 006	Abstract					<input type="checkbox"/>			
Location							Common Name		
villa at Epano Zakros							Unknown figure		
Period	Relative Date	Motif 1	Motif 2	Motif 3	Motif 4	Motif 5	Background	Colours	
Neopalatial									
Main Source				Other Source 1					
L. Platon 2002, pl XLVIIIc									

Appendix 2: Site Concordance Table

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Reference</u>
AM	Amnisos
AR	Archanes/Arkhanes
AT	Ayia Triadha
CH	Chania
GA	Galatas
HF	House of Frescoes (Knossos)
KA	Katsamba
KN	Knossos Palace
KO	Kommos
MA	Mallia
NK	Nirou Khani
PH	Phaistos
PK	Palaikastro
PR	Prasa
PS	Pseira
TY	Tylissos
UM	Unexplored Mansion (Knossos)
ZA	Zakros

Appendix 3: Motif Concordance Table

Category	Reference	Motif
Abstract	AB01	Band - Dentate
Abstract	AB02	Band - Foliate
Abstract	AB03	Band - Segmented
Abstract	AB04	Checkerboard
Abstract	AB05	Chevrons
Abstract	AB06	Chevrons - Dotted
Abstract	AB07	Circles
Abstract	AB08	Circles - Concentric
Abstract	AB09	Dentils
Abstract	AB10	Hatching
Abstract	AB11	Herringbone
Abstract	AB12	Lines - Diagonal
Abstract	AB13	Lines - Horizontal
Abstract	AB14	Lines - Vertical
Abstract	AB15	Meander
Abstract	AB16	Quatrefoil
Abstract	AB17	Reticulate
Abstract	AB18	Rosette
Abstract	AB19	Scales
Abstract	AB20	Spiral
Abstract	AB21	Spiral - Anithetical
Abstract	AB22	Spiral - Dotted
Abstract	AB23	Spiral - Repeated
Abstract	AB24	Spiral - Running
Abstract	AB25	Sponge
Abstract	AB26	Spots/Dots
Abstract	AB27	Waves
Abstract	AB28	Band - Vertical Striped

Category	Reference	Motif
Abstract	AB29	Marbling
Abstract	AB30	Crescents
Abstract	AB31	Wood Imitation
Abstract	AB32	Zigzag
Animal	AN01	Bird
Animal	AN02	Bull
Animal	AN03	Cat
Animal	AN04	Goats
Animal	AN05	Mice
Animal	AN06	Monkey
Animal	AN07	Mythological - Griffins
Animal	AN08	Mythological - Sphinxes
Architecture	AR01	Isolated Architectural Motifs
Human	HU01	Female
Human	HU02	Male
Human	HU03	Unknown
Marine	MA01	Crustaceans
Marine	MA02	Dolphins
Marine	MA03	Fish
Marine	MA04	Mullosks
Marine	MA05	Mythological
Marine	MA06	Octopi
Object	OB06	Sacral knot
Object	OB10	Chariot
Objects	OB01	Burcrania
Objects	OB02	Double Axes
Objects	OB03	Flutes
Objects	OB04	Garlands
Objects	OB05	Horns of Consecration
Objects	OB07	Shields
Objects	OB08	Starbursts

Category	Reference	Motif
Objects	OB09	Rocks
Textile	TE01	Ivy Scroll
Textile	TE02	Net - Quatrefoil
Textile	TE03	Net - Trefoil
Vegetal	VE01	Floral
Vegetal	VE02	Floral - Crocus
Vegetal	VE03	Floral - Lily
Vegetal	VE04	Floral - Papyrus
Vegetal	VE05	Floral - Saffron
Vegetal	VE06	Grasses
Vegetal	VE07	Leaves
Vegetal	VE08	Leaves - Ferns
Vegetal	VE09	Leaves - Vines
Vegetal	VE10	Trees
